Topics in Uduk Phonology and Morphosyntax

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the grammar and phonology of Uduk, a language belonging to the Koman branch of the Nilo-Saharan language family. Uduk is spoken by approximately 20 to 25,000 speakers, whose community homeland was in the southern part of the former Blue Nile Province of Sudan. Due to continuing war conditions since the late 1980s, the majority are now living scattered in the international diaspora, as well as in refugee camps in Ethiopia and South Sudan.

The description provides an analysis of the phonology, morphology, and syntax based on thirteen months of fieldwork between 2011 and 2014. Included in the grammatical description are sixteen glossed texts, to help illustrate the grammar in context.

Most major aspects of the language are described and analyzed in detail. This includes the segmental and suprasegmental phonology, nouns and noun phrases, pronouns and agreement marking, nominal and verbal modifiers, verbs and verb phrases, major clause types, and clause linking.

Uduk has a rich phonology; the main dialect of Uduk has 55 contrastive consonant phonemes, 21 of which occur as a result of the secondary feature labialization. There are three contrastive tone levels in Uduk, and seven possible register/contour melodies on a single TBU. There is also a complex interaction between consonants and tone which has given rise to a depressor consonant effect. This is one of the first Nilo-Saharan languages known to have such.

Argument structure and morphosyntax are equally interesting. Uduk has morphologically marked cases for both Accusative as well as Ergative, depending on the constituent order. Uduk nouns exhibit grammatical gender, the assignment of which has nearly no semantic correlations, even minimal ones relating to animacy or biological sex.

Uduk verb forms use polysemous grammatical suffixes which mark either the location of an action or its internal aspect, and spatial deixis and aspect are heavily intertwined. Spatial orientation and location thus form a fundamental part of basic verbal inflectional categories.

In addition to morphological marking on the basic verb root, many verbs additionally carry discontinuous incorporated nouns called Partarguments. Partarguments are typically body parts, and may function either to classify an argument or then to change the basic meaning of the verb.

These as well as other linguistic features make this description a valuable resource for Nilo-Saharan linguists as well as those interested in the typology of African languages.

Tiivistelmä

Tämä väitöskirja tarkastelee nilosaharalaisen kielikunnan komakielten haaraan kuuluvan udukin kielen kielioppia ja fonologiaa. Udukilla on noin 20 000 - 25 000 puhujaa, joiden muodostaman kieliyhteisön alkuperäinen asuinalue sijaitsi aikoinaan Sudanin entisen Sinisen-Niilin provinssin eteläosassa. 1980-luvun lopulta jatkuneiden sotatoimien vuoksi suurin osa kielen puhujista on hajaantunut useiden valtioiden alueille sekä pakolaisleireille Etiopiassa ja Etelä-Sudanissa.

Tämä väitöskirja tutkii udukin fonologiaa, morfologiaa ja syntaksia, ja siinä käytetty aineisto perustuu kolmentoista kuukauden kenttätyöhön, joka on toteutettu vuosien 2011 ja 2014 välillä. Kieliopin kuvaukseen sisältyy kuusitoista kieliopillisesti analysoitua tekstiä, jotka havainnollistavat kielioppia käyttökontekstissaan.

Kieliopin tärkeimmät ilmiöt on tässä tutkimuksessa kuvailtu ja analysoitu yksityiskohtaisesti. Näihin kuuluvat segmentaalinen ja suprasegmentaalinen fonologia, nominit ja nominilausekkeet, pronominit ja kongruenssi, nomini- ja verbimääreet, verbit ja verbilausekkeet, tärkeimmät lausetyypit sekä lauseiden yhdistäminen.

Udukin fonologia on rikasta: valtamurteessa on 55 eri konsonanttifoneemia, joista 21 realisoituu sekundaarisen labialisaation seurauksena.Kielessä on kolme toonin perustaajuutta ja seitsemän mahdollista rekisterin/kontuurin sävelkulkua yhdessä toonia kantavassa yksikössä. Lisäksi konsonantit ja toonit vaikuttavat toisiinsa monimutkaisella tavalla, joka on tuottanut kieleen niin sanotun toonia madaltavan konsonantin vaikutuksen. Uduk on yksi ensimmäisistä nilosaharalaisista kielistä, jossa tämä ilmiö on tavattu.

Argumenttirakenne ja morfosyntaksi ovat yhtä lailla kiinnostavia. Udukissa voidaan merkitä morfologisesti sekä akkusatiivi- että ergatiivisija riippuen konstituenttien järjestyksestä. Udukissa nomineilla on kieliopillinen suku, jonka merkinnällä ei ole juuri minkäänlaista semanttista korrelaatiota edes elollisuuden tai biologisen sukupuolen suhteen.

Udukin verbimuodoissa käytetään polyseemisiä kieliopillisia suffikseja ilmaisemaan joko toiminnan sijaintia tai sen aspektia ja spatiaalinen deiksis ja aspekti ovat voimakkaasti sidoksissa toisiinsa. Näin ollen spatiaalisen orientaation ja lokaation merkintä on yksi tärkeimmistä verbien taivutuskategorioista.

Verbivartaloon liittyvän morfologisen merkinnän lisäksi moniin verbeihin yhdistyy liitenomineja, osa-argumentteja. Ne ovat tyypillisesti kehonosien nimityksiä ja voivat joko antaa tietoa argumentin luokasta tai muuttaa verbin perusmerkitystä.

Yllä mainittujen ja eräiden muiden udukin kieliopin erityispiirteiden ansiosta tämä tutkimus toimii arvokkaana tietolähteenä nilosaharalaisten kielten tutkijoille sekä Afrikan kielten typologiasta kiinnostuneille kielitieteilijöille.

Contents

List of Tables

Abbreviations

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ACC	Accusative
AD1	Aspect-Directional 1
AD2	Aspect-Directional 2
AGNT	Agentive
AGR	Agreement
ANPH	Anaphoric
ASS	Associative
CF	Counterfactual
CL1	Class I Gender
CL2	Class II Gender
CM	Class Marker
COMP	Complementizer
COMPL	Completive
CONV	Converb
COP	Copula
CT	Continuous
DEF	Definite
DET	Determiner
DIST	Distal
DUR	Durative
ERG	Ergative
GEN	Generic
GER	Gerund
IC	Inherent Complement
ICV	Inherent Complement Verb
IDENT	Identifier Demonstrative
IMP	Imperative
IMPRS	Impersonal
IPFV	Imperfective
LNK	Same-Subject Linker
MED	Medial
NAS	Nasal
NVP	Nonverbal Predicate
PART	Partargument
PAST	Past
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PREC	Precise
PREP	Preposition
PRES	Present

PROX	Proximal
RECIP	Reciprocal
REDUP	Reduplicated
REL	Relative marker
REM	Remote
SCR	Subject Cross-Reference Marker
SG	Singular
STV	Stative
V	Verb

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The path of finishing a dissertation is a long one, and this work would not have been accomplished without the help of a lot of people along the way. My cousin Mike was the very first one to suggest linguistics as an option, already more than 15 years ago. I suspect at the time he never would have imagined just how far I would take it.

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This dissertation forms part of a continuation of work with the Uduk over the years, most notably from Wendy James. Wendy started working with the Uduk more than 50 years ago, and her publication list is equally impressive in its timespan and length. When I first expressed interest in studying their language in 2009, she wholeheartedly supported me from the very beginning. All the recordings, literature, materials, and advice she provided over the years allow for a much better perspective of the dynamics of the language and its cultural and historical context, without which my dissertation would have been much poorer.

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Otero in particular discovered how Koman languages use directional morphemes to encode tense and aspect as a function of deixis. Without his help it is doubtful I would have discovered this unique system.

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Dedicated to all the Uduk out there, in hopes for a brighter and better future.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Uduk [udu], also known as Tw'āmpā (Orthographic: 'Twampa), is a Nilo-Saharan language spoken on the border of Ethiopia and Sudan. This study focuses on the description of the phonology and morphosyntax of the language, based on thirteen months of fieldwork between 2011 and 2014. Language data was gathered from twenty-five native speakers in Ethiopia; this data is supplemented with additional texts generously provided by Wendy James and long-distance communication with Uduk speakers living in the USA. The language consultants provided approximately 30 texts of varying lengths and genres, including instructions, stories, political discussions, and games.

This grammar is organized into ten chapters. Chapter 1 discusses an introduction to the language, giving a context for the language description. A brief summary of relevant historical and cultural matters is also presented. It ends with a summary of typologically interesting data of Uduk phonology and morphosyntax. Chapters 2 and 3 present the phonology of Uduk, including syllable structure, segmental phonemes, and tonal phenomena.

Chapter 4 then presents an overview of nominal morphology and phrase structure, and Chapter 5 describes the pronouns of Uduk. Chapter 6 describes nominal and verbal modifiers in Uduk, and Chapter 7 presents the system of demonstratives in Uduk, which are unusually complex. Chapter 8 describes the basic morphology of the verb and its phrase structure. Chapter 9 presents different types of clauses and their functions. The descriptive section of the grammar ends with Chapter 10, which focuses on the syntax of complex sentences, such as coordinative and subordinative structures. The Appendix contains some additional verb paradigms (section A), a brief description of the differences between one more conservative dialect of Uduk compared to the standard (section B), and some examples of glossed texts (section C).

1.1 Demographics and Sociolinguistic Situation

There are approximately 20 - 25,000 speakers of Uduk, according to James (2007). There are also second-language speakers of Uduk by many of the neigh-

boring ethnic groups in Sudan. Although the Uduk number only in the tens of thousands, they remain nonetheless one of the more influential and powerful ethnic groups. Furthermore, the fact that their language has had a written orthography for more than 60 years has increased the prestige, and learning materials are beginning to be adopted in schools. Before the current conflict in the Blue Nile, there had been discussion on making Uduk an official regional language.

The term Uduk is an exonym of unknown origins, and without negative connotations. The Uduk are known as the *Korara* by the local Arabs, *Cai* by the Nuer (along with other border groups such as Meban and Komo), *Tam* by the Ganza, and *Kamus* by the Komo (and some Ganza) of the Bisho area (James 1979). The northern Uduk call themselves *'Kwāním pā*, which translates to people of the home(land), and the southern Uduk around the Yabus area prefer the term *Ḵamus*, a term of unknown meaning (but likely related to the term used by the Komo and Ganza).

There are three main dialects of Uduk, two northern dialects and one southern. The dialect investigated by Thelwall, Beam and Cridland, and Stevenson is the northern Chali dialect, which is quite closely related to the Bellila dialect found on the Ahmar, and there are few problems in mutual intelligibility (Thelwall 1983). Both of these dialects differ still from the mostly undescribed southern dialect known as Yabus, found in Belatoma and southwards (James 1979). There are approximately 1000 speakers of Yabus Uduk according to the one consultant I met who spoke Yabus Uduk; in James (1979), she estimates between two and three thousand, so the numbers have decreased considerably.

Both groups call the language they speak *'Twāmpā*, literally 'mouth of the home', although the Yabus can use the more specific term *'Twā Yábùs* or *'Twāmpā Yábùs* to refer to the particular dialect that they speak. They refer to the northern Uduk variety as *'Twāmpā Bwà'césh* or *'Twām Bwà'césh*, literally 'mouth of the center of the earth' (*bwà 'césh* is used in a more general sense to refer to populated areas).

The difference between Yabus and the northern dialects is primarily phonological and grammatical; some lexical distinctions do exist as well. Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) distinctions appear to be relevant for Yabus, which are not found in the northern varieties, and there is a regular correspondence between the dental plosives of the north and ejective and voiced fricatives of the south. The Yabus speakers are in the process of shifting to the northern variety, due to living with the northern Uduk in the refugee camps, and many younger speakers are unable to speak Yabus without mixing. Even older speakers have a tendency to mix the dialects these days, and my consultant had difficulties in not mixing the different varieties of Uduk.

In general, with some effort, mutual understanding is possible, but due to the differences in social prestige, nearly all of the Yabus can understand *'Twām Bwà'césh*, whereas the northern Uduk find Yabus far more challenging at times.

My exposure to the Yabus variety was limited to collecting 6 texts and some vocabulary and verb paradigms over the course of a week with a single speaker. This description focuses primarily on the variety spoken around Chali, but mentions some contrasts to Yabus when it is known, and preliminary contrasts may

be found in section B of the Appendix. As the Yabus are in the process of shifting to the northern variety, more documentation and description is urgently needed, particularly when this dialect may shed light on historical developments in Koman languages.

1.2 Classification

Uduk forms part of the Koman language family, along with Komo, Gwama, Opuuo (Shita), and potentially the extinct Gule. Although there is much debate regarding the precise structure of Nilo-Saharan languages, Koman has mostly remained unproblematic as a language family, with the exception of the addition of Gule. Researchers have disagreed somewhat, however, where Koman would be placed within Nilo-Saharan as a whole, if at all.

Three main competing classifications exist for Nilo-Saharan: Greenberg's original classification (1963), Ehret (2001), and Bender (1997). Bender's classification is the one most explicitly argued, and despite plenty of disagreement from various scholars, also the most accepted. Bender's structure follows Greenberg's original families with some modification; Ehret's is radically different, placing Koman and Gumuz in their own branch, and all other languages in a second branch. Roger Blench's 2006 publication generally follows Bender's view on the structure of Nilo-Saharan, with some modifications on individual languages and families (Blench 2006). Gerritt Dimmendaal has also worked on language classification of Nilo-Saharan, but has not published any major works on the topic.

Dimmendaal has raised some recent doubts about the inclusion of Gumuz and Koman in Nilo-Saharan, however, saying that their genetic status is debatable due to lacking some of the more widespread Nilo-Saharan morphological markers. On the other hand, he also comments on the severe lack of data for the languages, and withholds decisive judgment on the matter (Dimmendaal 2008).

Other scholars have also questioned other families, particularly with Bender's 'outliers': e.g. Saharan (Petrácek 1989), Kuliak (Heine 1976), and Songhay (Nicolaï 2003; Mikkola 1999). The least accepted families are Songhay and Kuliak, and numerous competing classification proposals exist for both (Childs 2003; Sands 2009).

The question of Gumuz and Koman languages was addressed recently in Ahland (2012a), with evidence suggesting that both Koman and Gumuz are Nilo-Saharan language groups, and re-suggesting the possibility of a closer relation to each other. Nevertheless, more data and research will be needed to determine both Koman languages' relation to Gumuz as well as the placement of Koman as a whole.

Figure 1.1 follows Bender (1997)'s classification in placing Koman in a node along with East Sudanic, Gumuz, and Kadu, sharing closer relationships with these than with some other families with Nilo-Saharan. This is not to say that I necessarily believe in the close-knit relationship of these families; rather, I leave the question of genetic affiliation at a larger level for future studies and instead focus on the descriptive side.

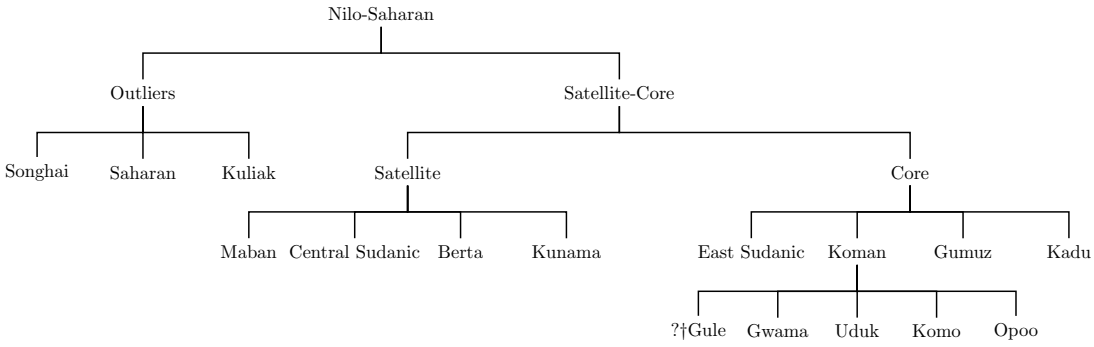


Figure 1.1: Koman and Nilo-Saharan Languages according to Bender (1997)

Within the Koman languages, Uduk, Komo, and Opuuo share a more close-knit relationship, with Gwama and Gule the most divergent from Proto-Koman (Bender 1983). Gule was placed into Koman by Greenberg with relatively little data available (Greenberg 1963), and more research is needed to determine whether Gule truly belongs in the Koman family, or would be better placed with Jebel languages or Nilotic languages, both language groups being found in the area where Gule was spoken.

1.3 Geography

Uduk is spoken in the central parts of the wide but fragmented area in which Nilo-Saharan languages are spoken. Koman languages are all found around the border of Sudan and Ethiopia. Uduk is the only Koman language which is not currently spoken in Ethiopia, aside from small communities of students or refugees; Opuuo, Komo, and Gwama all have original speaker communities in both countries.

The homeland of the Uduk is in the southern part of the former Blue Nile Province of Sudan. Because of the constant war conditions since the late 1980s, however, the majority of the Uduk-speaking people are now living in refugee camps in Ethiopia and South Sudan, as well as living in resettled communities in in Australia, Canada, and the United States. Only a minority have been able to resettle back in their home region, now a part of the new Blue Nile State of the Sudan, bordering South Sudan. The largest expatriate community, around 500 members, is located in Utah, USA.

Current geographic placement of the Uduk is complicated. There has been conflict in the Uduk homeland since the 1980's, and the Uduk have had to flee numerous times to Ethiopia. 1987 in particular saw an important change, as the population of the Uduk villages fled en masse to Ethiopia after their villages were torched. The Uduk were displaced from their homeland, eventually finding a refuge at the Bonga refugee camp in Ethiopia. They stayed in Bonga until the peace agreement of 2005 between Khartoum and the SPLA, and began

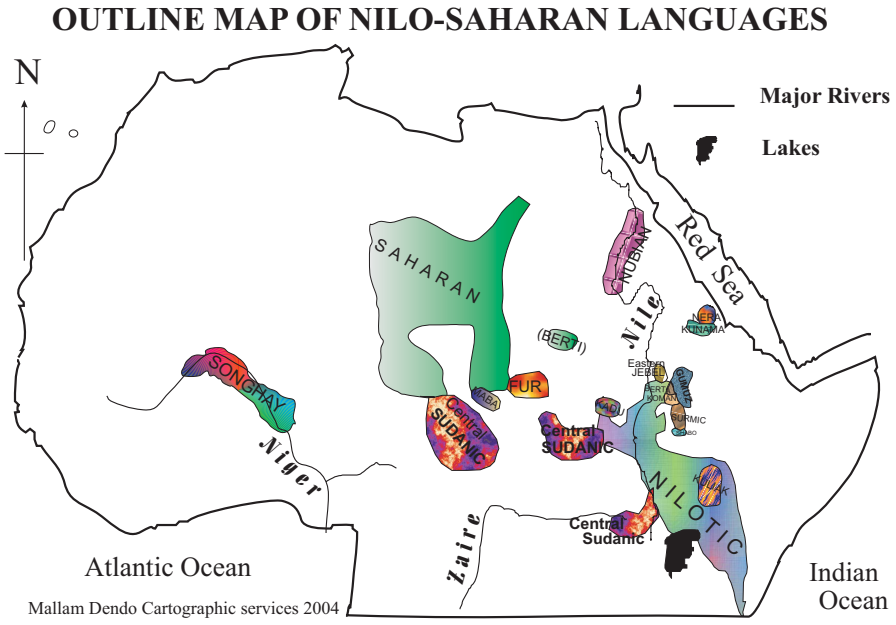


Figure 1.2: Nilo-Saharan Languages (Blench unpublished)[1]

repatriation to Sudan in 2006. For details of the situation in the in-between years, see e.g. James 1994, 1996, 1997, 2007, 2013.

Recent turmoil has caused the Uduk to return to Ethiopia, however. The Blue Nile state, along with Southern Kordofan, had been in a politically ambiguous area after the CPA (Comprehensive Peace Agreement) treaty of 2005, which ended two decades of civil war between the north and the south. The CPA stipulated that both states would get the right to conduct a popular consultation, in order to gauge local satisfaction with the implementation of the agreement. If the people were dissatisfied, new agreements would be made.

After South Sudan's independence in July 2011, conflict broke out in the Blue Nile state. By October 2011, the majority of the Uduk again became refugees, moving into camps in South Sudan and Ethiopia, where they currently remain. The future remains very much uncertain in terms of where they will settle; it is possible that the Uduk will become embroiled in another long-term civil war, or else they will end up relocating elsewhere long-term, much like their 14-year stay in Bonga.

One important linguistic factor in terms of the social turmoil is that of dialect leveling: the Yabus dialect in particular is currently in the process of being lost, and features from the different hamlets and villages are starting to merge as community members mix together more. Many younger speakers preserve dialect features of their parents, such as using certain demonstratives from the Gwami or Borpa villages, without necessarily having a geographic connection

[1]Source: `https://rogerblench.academia.edu/RogerBlench/Maps`, accessed 15.3.2015

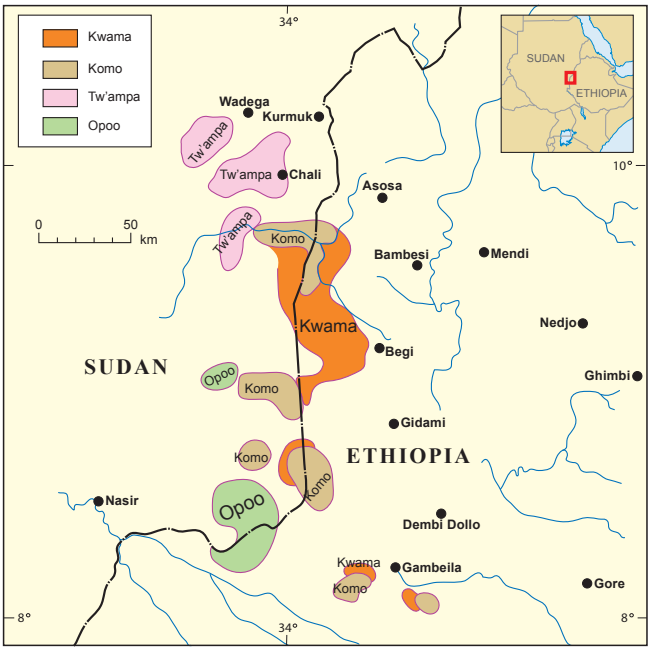


Figure 1.3: Koman Languages (Blench unpublished)[2]

in the same way.

1.4 Historical and Cultural Notes

Much of Uduk history and culture has already been previously described by Wendy James in numerous works since the 1960's. Thus it is addressed in only brief detail here, when relevant to the linguistic description.

The Uduk have lived in the Blue Nile area for many generations, present political strife aside. There was more than likely an earlier migration from further south, however, discussed by James (1979); linguistic similarity to certain branches of Western Nilotic not spoken in the immediate vicinity of the current population would suggest this theory has some validity. James gives further details on earlier migrations, suggesting the original homeland area to be below Gidami, in the Sonka-Daga valley south of the Komo, near where the Shita (Opuuo) currently live.

In terms of language contact, the greatest modern influences appear to be that of English and Arabic, and younger speakers frequently intersperse words of Arabic or English origin into their Uduk. *Hístōrì*, for instance, borrowed from English, is used to mean both history and story, a translation of the Uduk *gò lòlòp*. Many words dealing with discourse structure in particular are taken from Arabic; *áw̄*, 'or', *bà*, 'so'; *yàhó* 'thus, like so' *lákín̄* 'but' *másālàn* 'for example' are some examples. Their use is often adapted to Uduk, however; *shúkūrān*, which

[2]Source: `https://rogerblench.academia.edu/RogerBlench/Maps`, accessed 15.3.2015

originally meant thank you in Arabic, is taken more to be a translation of *ʾbóróʾd bè*, 'it's well, good', which has numerous other uses, including showing an end or transition of a discussion. It is not uncommon to hear Uduk speakers use this at the end of a story, or to say goodbye.

Grammatical similarities to Anywak, Päri, Burun, and other Western Nilotic languages suggest deeper contact with these at an earlier period. Until more research is conducted on some of the Nilotic languages in the area however, in particular the Burun languages, it is hard to discuss amounts of influence.

In contrast to some other Koman groups, the Uduk are rarely monolingual, and often speak multiple languages. English has been taught since the late 1940s in the SIM mission school at Chali, and even after the expulsion of the missionaries in 1964, some classes continued. Most young Uduk also speak English to some extent, due to their stay in Bonga. They were schooled in English under the Kenyan education system, aside from literacy primers written in their own language. A local variety of Arabic common to the Blue Nile is also commonly spoken by both young and older Uduk, with some Uduk additionally speaking classical and/or standard Sudanese Arabic.

James describes an even more diverse situation, that..."the Uduk as individuals are in frequent contact and interaction with a variety of neighbouring settled peoples, and it is not difficult to find Uduk who can speak Meban, Jum Jum, Hill Burun, Berta, Ganza, or the tongues most closely related to Uduk, that is, Komo and Shita" (James 1979, pp. 8-10). At least two of my consultants were able to speak Berta and Meban, despite the geographic separation due to having grown up in a refugee camp. Others had some knowledge of Nuer and Ingessana. The tradition of multilingualism has persisted into the modern day, and it remains to be seen how it will continue.

Literacy in their own language varies. Among younger speakers educated in Bonga, most can read and write Uduk; older speakers only became literate through active voluntary participation in classes, and thus are more limited in number.

There are not deep divisions between male and female speech, nor between old and young, but some differences do exist. Certain demonstratives which were documented in the earlier dictionary and work by Stevenson were explained to me as 'old people's speech'.

One grammatical change I am aware of deals with colors; earlier documentations show that the construction *tā gì* (the copula plus the Class I Genitive marker) was used, meaning 'to have'. This construction is still used in modern Uduk to refer to possession, but is not used with colors with younger speakers. A comparison may be seen below, the first example showing the older way of speaking, the second the more modern.

(1) *gùʾb tā gì ʾthíʔ*
house COP PP.CL1 black

'The house is (lit: has) black.'

(2) *gù'b tā 'thí?*
house COP black

'The house is black.'

Some kinship terms vary depending on whether the speaker is male or female, in particular the reciprocal kinship terms dealing with one's sibling's children. The terms *sàmín* and *só'b* are used by women to refer to their brother's children, and by both men and women to refer to their father's sister. Similarly, *íyà* is used by men to refer to their brother's children, or by both men and women to refer to their father's brother. *Nàm* may only be used by men to refer to their sister's children.

1.5 Previous Research

Contact with the Uduk from Western nations begins in the 1800's, primarily during the African colonization period. The earliest mention of the Uduk in Western sources is from the Dutch traveller Juan Maria Schuver. Schuver had noted a Jebel Uduk in his maps, but did not give any more explanations (James et al. 1996). The first visit to yield any more detailed information was that of Kaimakam G. S. Nickerson Bey on a military survey expedition (Nickerson 1906).

Further exploratory work was continued by Evans-Pritchard (1932) during the 1920's and 30's. Evans-Pritchard went on to become a famous and esteemed anthropologist, and his work contributed to that of Seligman and Seligman (1932), who included Uduk amongst the tribes they surveyed. The Italian explorer Grottanelli also did some exploration in the region around the same time period (Grottanelli 1946).

In 1938, SIM (Sudan Interior Mission, now known as Serving in Mission) opened a missionary base in Chali for conversion purposes. Two years later, the mission suffered a blow when the Italians, who were stationed only 35 miles from Kurmuk, bombed the Chali and Doro stations (Sanderson 1976). As a result of the World War 2 conflict between Britain and Italy, the borderland area of Ethiopia and Sudan was considered too dangerous, and the missionaries were evacuated. The mission was re-opened in 1941, when Mr. and Mrs. Forsberg and Mr. Simpsonis returned to Chali, where they opened a school and began linguistic research and bible translation. While living in Chali, the Forsbergs kept in contact with Roland Stevenson, a linguist living at the time in Khartoum, who then helped the Forsbergs to understand the language. Around 1944, Stevenson completed a grammar sketch of Uduk based on information provided by the Forsbergs via correspondence, although it remained unpublished, and numerous areas such as tone were not addressed (Stevenson 1944). Despite not being published, it was used by Tucker and Bryan (1966; 1956) in their discussion of the Koman language family. The Forsbergs meanwhile were working on the bible and orthography, with portions of the bible translated

between 1947 and 1963. 1963 saw the first edition of the entire new testament of the bible (Beam et al. 1963). Also created during this time were some primers teaching Uduk children how to read (Sudan Interior Mission 1965). The mission lasted until 1964, when the government closed missionary work in southern Sudan.

Work continued, however, both academic and religious. An Uduk-English dictionary was published by the University of Khartoum in 1970 by Mary Beam and Elizabeth Cridland (1970), reprinted from the mimeo dictionary initially produced and duplicated for distribution in 1956, at Chali-el-Fil, Sudan. Wendy James, currently a professor emeritus from the University of Oxford, also began anthropological fieldwork in the Blue Nile region in 1966. Her first book on Uduk culture and society, *'Kwanim Pa*, was published in 1979, based on her earlier doctoral thesis completed in 1970 (1979). She continued to write numerous anthropological books and articles on the Uduk and the region (e.g. James 1978, 1997, 1988, 2007) some of which had a distinct linguistic characteristic.

Robin Thelwall (1983) has also written an article describing the segmental phonology of Uduk, and Lionel Bender wrote a handful of articles on historical and comparative aspects of Koman, (Bender 1983, 1985, 1994).

1.6 A typological overview of Uduk

Before discussing Uduk in more detail, it is worth sketching out some of the general grammatical features of Uduk in a typological overview.

1.6.1 Phonology

Uduk is a language with a rich phonology, including some unusual consonantal contrasts. The Chali variety of Uduk has 55 contrastive consonant phonemes (section 2.3), 21 of which occur as a result of the secondary feature labialization. There is a 5-way place of articulation contrast with stops (bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, and velar), and a further 4-way manner contrast (ejective, voiceless aspirated, voiceless unaspirated, voiced). Implosive consonants add a 5th manner at the bilabial and alveolar regions. Apical-laminal consonant harmony is attested in word roots but not across morpheme boundaries (section 2.3.5).

Unlike many languages in the area, Uduk does not have a complex ATR system in the vowels; instead, there are only 5 phonemic contrasts (section 2.4) with a range in acoustic realizations of the phonemes. The Yabus dialect, however, shows signs of a contrastive 7-vowel ATR harmony system, and more work is needed to determine the details of how the system works.

The canonical syllabic structure of noun and verb roots in Uduk is CVC (section 2.2), and consonant clusters in word-initial and word-final position are not permitted. Word-medial clusters do occur, but with restrictions. There are no diphthongs in Uduk, but vowel sequences occur in limited circumstances due

to morphophonology. Syllabic consonants are possible both before and after other syllables, but they do not occur on their own. Length is functionally limited, primarily originating from Arabic loan words, but does exist for both consonants and vowels.

There are three contrastive tone levels in Uduk, with 7 possible register and contour melodies on a single TBU (Chapter 3). The only lexical melodies which do not occur on a single TBU under any circumstance are LM and ML. There is a complex historical interaction between consonants and tone which has given rise to depressor consonant effect; this is one of the first Nilo-Saharan languages known to have such (section 3.3).

Aside from depressor consonant phenomena, tones are fairly stable, and there is a fairly straightforward relationship synchronically between underlying and surface melodies. There is no upstep or downstep, and tone spread is limited.

One remaining aspect to the phonology which affects numerous other areas of the language is what is called the leftward realignment (section 3.5). There are a number of prefixes and particles, which, if the opportunity arises, undergo a resyllabification process, moving leftward to form a phonological unit with the previous word.

1.6.2 Basic Alignment and Word Order

Uduk generally is a V2, or Verb Second language, with a constituent order in bivalent main clauses as follows:

Topic[3] V A IO O Partargument[4] Particle Adv

A prototypical example could be seen as follows:

(3) *wàthí? 'cíth-í'd ā yí'd*
man cut:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 skin

'The man cut the skin.'

At first glance, this could appear to be an instance of an AVO language; however, clauses of the following type are also fairly common in Uduk.

(4) *tāshá wò'c mà 'ká*
snake bite:IPFV ERG.CL2 dog

'The dog bit the snake.'

[3]The argument which is placed in the grammatically privileged preverbal position is known as the 'topic' of the construction. *Topic* refers to referents which are more identifiable and activated, following Lambrecht (1994), and is described more fully in section 9.1.

[4]Partargument refers to a noun incorporated into the verbal phrase, typically a body part, which functions either as a verbal classifier of the argument or then changes the basic lexical meaning of the verb.

Thus, as can be seen in examples (3) and (4), Uduk exhibits case marking, but case marking is partially dependent on the noun's position in the clause, and not just its role in the argument structure. The case form specific to post-verbal A is called *Ergative*[5], whereas preverbal (and most other) nouns use the unmarked *Absolutive* case. The case form specific to post-verbal O is *Accusative*, but this is marked only on one of the two genders of Uduk. In independent monovalent clauses, S occurs in the preverbal topic position and does not occur post-verbally; adverbials do not affect this placement.

Uduk's alignment system is somewhat challenging to classify, as it has features of both a Nominative-Accusative system and an Ergative-Absolutive system. Pronominal agreement markers show a Nominative-Accusative alignment, with preverbal A/S following similar agreement marking patterns on the verb. When A is post-verbal, there is no agreement marking. Clause-linking markers suggest more Nominative-Accusative features, but with limitations based on constituent order. Amongst other things, the grammatical marker *ì* can function as a type of syntactic pivot used to link separate predicates which use the same subject, although the form of the verb after *ì* must remain in a non-finite form. The term subject refers here to constructions in which S can link with A or S; A can link with A or S; and O may link with O or Impersonal constructions, but not with S or A. Thus, although Uduk has morphological marking of Ergativity in some constructions, in terms of inter-clause linking, it associates more with Nominative-Accusative languages. For more details, see section 9.14.

Uduk also cannot be easily characterized as having a dominant constituent order in main clauses; rather, it follows a pattern similar to that of Shilluk and Päri of Abs-V-(Erg) in main clauses, alternating in particular between OVA and AVO in bivalent clauses, and using SV in monovalent clauses. Some subordinate clauses have a preferred constituent order of VS/VAO, however; for more details, see Chapter 10. Word-order correlations in Uduk are generally consistent with VO languages, according to Dryer's (2007) correlations.

In terms of ordering within an NP, NPs tend to be left-headed. Most NP word ordering is fairly strict, and changing the order will either change the meaning or make a structure ungrammatical.

A list of general word-orders in the NP is as follows:

- Modified Noun – Modifying Noun
- Modified Noun – Relative Clause
- Modified Noun – Possessive Pronoun
- Modified Noun – Modifier (some exceptions)
- Modified Noun – Demonstrative
- Modified Noun – Numeral
- Possessed Noun – Possessor Noun (Genitive)
- Preposition – Noun
- (Plural Markers – Noun)

[5]This dissertation uses capital letters to refer to language-specific categories (such as the Ergative specific to Uduk) and lowercase letters to refer to grammatical categories used for cross-linguistic comparisons (e.g. when discussing a comparison of marked nominative languages in the languages of Northeast Africa). See Haspelmath (2007) for a discussion on this topic.

Note that there are some exceptions to this, dealt with in more detail in section 4.7.

For other ordering phenomena, manner adverbs and prepositional phrases tend to occur post-verbally, and intensifiers occur after a modifier. Auxiliary verbs precede main verbs. Negators occur either directly before the verb, clause finally, or in both positions combined. Other particles such as question particles occur clause-finally. Question words tend to occur clause initially, but are flexible in the same way that other nouns are, and also occur in situ. Adverbial subordinate clauses often (but not exclusively) occur before main clauses; complement clauses occur after the verb.

1.6.3 Morphosyntax

Most Uduk word forms can be characterized as something in between isolating and fusional, following Comrie's 1989 synthesis and fusion index (Comrie 1989). Nouns tend to be monomorphemic, having at most one or two additional grammatical morphemes per word. Verbs can exhibit more, however, with up to four morphemes in a word, not counting discontinuous satellites of the VP. Grammatical morphemes exhibit elision and can be difficult to separate; furthermore, many morphemes are heavily polysemous, and have a number of potential meanings depending on the situation. Most grammatical markers are either particles or clitics in Uduk, in particular with nominal morphology; verbal morphology has some suffixes but no prefixes (proclitics are possible, however).

1.6.3.1 Nominal and pronominal morphology

There are no distinguishing characteristics in terms of word structure differentiating nouns from verbs. However, all nouns occur in one of two genders (section 4.3), *Class I* and *Class II*, Class II nouns being marked with the proclitic *à=*. Gender in Uduk has almost no semantic correlations, even minimal ones relating to animacy or biological sex.

Uduk does not have a general morphological means of marking number on nouns, but some human nouns do have suppletive forms (section 4.2).

There are three primary cases in Uduk (section 4.4): Ergative, Accusative, and Absolutive. Ergative and Accusative are used only with nouns directly following the verb, and Accusative has a further restriction of only occurring with Class II nouns. Absolutive cases are unmarked.

Additional cases include the Genitive (section 4.4.4), marked with a particle agreeing in gender with the head in between Possessed and Possessor, and the Associative (section 4.4.5), overtly marked only when the second noun is Class II. The Associative can also be marked with a homorganic nasal agreeing with the place of articulation of the following consonant, if the initial noun ends in a vowel. Uduk does not differentiate alienability in Genitive or Possessive constructions.

Two additional cliticized forms are used in limited instances, when modified by numbers (section 4.2.3): the Individuative *=ā,* which marks a portion out of many or a smaller countable number, and the Collective *=í*, used to mark nouns modified by larger or specific numbers. The details are complex, however, and vary depending on the noun modified and how it is seen in terms of individuation.

Pronouns (Chapter 5) do not distinguish biological sex in any form, but 1PL does distinguish between inclusive and exclusive. There is a further paucal-multal distinction with 1PE; *ám̄* is used for smaller groups, whereas *ámān* is used for a larger group. Despite the rarity of having this type of distinction only in the 1PE form, no similar forms were found in the inclusive or in other person forms.

Personal pronouns occur in one of two forms, free-standing or bound. Bound pronouns only occur in the Ergative case, when directly following the verb. 1SG may have an additional Accusative form, but it is uncertain whether the alternations are phonological or morphological.

Uduk has a complex system of deictic words used to indicate a particular entity in space or time (called *Demonstratives*); these demonstratives are not confined to adnominal or pronominal referents, however, and also include other parts of speech such as verbal and adverbial. Furthermore, there are as many as 10 different spatial differentiations, giving more than 100 demonstratives in total (Chapter 7).

1.6.3.2 Verbal morphology

There are a few significant morphosyntactic oppositions in the verbal morphology.

One important distinction is the structural opposition between finite and non-finite verb forms, which do not have the same possibilities in terms of morphological marking. All finite verbs are obligatorily marked for person-number agreement (section 8.6) as well as perfectivity through suprasegmental marking on the verb stem (section 8.4). There are two additional suffixes used with finite verb forms to mark aspect as well as location and direction. These markers are labelled as AD1[6] (section 8.5.1) and AD2 (section 8.5.2), as they both have a wide range of uses with aspect, direction, and to some extent valency. The particle *mò* also forms a major part of the grammar in the verbal phrase, and the meaning of the AD markers is to some extent dependent on the presence or absence of *mò*. Its use is complex, but in general, it focuses on the boundary of an event in some way, in particular the left boundary. It can often

[6]AD refers to Aspect/Direction, an abbreviation created by Manuel Otero in his work on Komo and Koman directionality marking. All Koman languages appear to use grammatical markers rooted in spatial deixis, to mark the location or direction of an action in addition to being used aspectually for "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976, p. 3). Spatial deixis and aspect are thus heavily intertwined. As Uduk lacks a morphological means to express tense or mood on the verb, AD is used as an abbreviation in lieu of TAM to refer to these grammatical categories distinguished on the verb. For more information, see Otero (2015c).

be translated as 'start to', or then mark the transition from one event to the next.

Non-finite verb forms (section 8.10) have no agreement marking or tonal alternations to mark perfectivity. They may occur with AD1 and AD2 markers as well as two additional suffixes (sections 8.10.2 and 8.10.3) to mark the direction or location of an action more specifically.

Finite verbs also make use of an important distinction according to the *Voice* of the construction, an operation which adjusts the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations (Payne 1997).

Single-argument (intransitive) predicates place S in initial position, with subject cross-referencing marked on the verb (section 9.2). S does not receive case-marking, and any additional adverbials or particles occur after the verb. Although S is cross-referenced on the verb, subject expression may not be omitted.

If there is more than one argument in a predication however, the position of the arguments is flexible depending on information structure as well as inherent verbal semantics (section 9.3). If A is placed in clause-initial position, this is called *A-Voice*. If A is placed in the immediate post-verbal position, this is called *O-Voice*.

Agreement patterns and case marking vary according to the voice of the construction; cross-referencing of A or S only occurs when S and A are preverbal. A-Voice constructions have a further differentiation: if O is Class I, only 1st person retains agreement marking, and agreement marking for other persons is suppressed (section 8.6.2.1). Thus, the noun class which uses an overt case marker also requires overt cross-referencing of the subject A; in the other constellation, with a Class I object, there is no marking for either O or A.

O-Voice constructions have no argument cross-referencing on the verb (section 8.6.2.2). Instead, post-verbal A is case-marked with the Ergative, with variations in the marker depending on the grammatical gender of the A argument. Bound pronominal forms of the pronouns also may be used in lieu of the case marked noun.

The only means of increasing the valency of a construction is through the AD1 marker *-kí*, used to mark benefactives or recipients (section 9.4). Benefactives may only occur with predicates which are already bivalent, and are case marked in the same way as direct objects.

For decreasing valency, there are two strategies. The Impersonal *-ù* is used in place of agreement markers to suppress the realization of an active A in much the same way that a passive would be used in Indo-European languages (section 8.9). It suppresses rather than deletes A, however; O retains its syntactic form and case, and A may not be expressed in an oblique construction. It is also possible to use the Impersonal construction with monovalent verbs, in order to suppress the realization of S.

The second strategy on decreasing valency is used for suppressing the realization of an O argument. This is done by simply using the single-argument paradigm for argument cross-referencing (section 8.6.1). Verb lability in Uduk

is common, and all agreement patterns are overtly marked in different ways. Thus, there is no need for a dedicated structure for antipassive constructions, and Uduk makes use of an already existing construction for this need.

In addition to morphological marking on the basic verb root, many verbs additionally carry discontinuous incorporated nouns after the verb, called *Partarguments* (section 9.19). Partarguments are typically body parts, and can either function as verbal classifiers in some way, or else change the basic meaning of the verb, often unpredictably. If a transitive verb has an incorporated noun, this occurs after the object, but before any grammatical particles. Verbs with incorporated nouns retain the incorporated part also when they occur in nominalized forms.

One final note is that there is a second, separate type of verbs, called stative verbs (section 8.11). Stative verbs are atelic verbal forms which do not take any AD marking, and describe the state or quality of a referent. They use a particular reduplication conjugation pattern, separate from other verb paradigms.

1.6.3.3 Syntax

Discussion of syntax includes clause types, clause chaining, subordinate clauses, and complements. Basic clause types include intransitive and transitive, the second of which may be either in A-Voice or O-Voice. As most verbs are labile, it is relatively easy to switch between monovalent and bivalent by simply adjusting the agreement patterns. Most verb roots have at least some object with which they can co-occur. Trivalent clauses occur only with the AD1 suffix (section 9.4).

Copular constructions primarily occur with nominal predicates and the verb *tā* (section 9.7). This is only used with constructions meaning 'to be something'. The same verb plus the Genitive marker *gì* also is used for Possessive constructions (section 9.8). Locative constructions are formed with the existential verbs *dì* and *ɕā'b* (section 9.9). Locatives for inanimate referents also frequently use non-verbal predicates, such as noun-noun collocations. There are also dedicated predicative demonstratives, some of which mark location.

Polar interrogatives are marked by a clause-final clitic, or more rarely, a raise in prosodic pitch (section 9.17.1) . Content question words generally stay in situ, but information questions are normal transitive predicate constructions, and may be adjusted for information structure in the same way (section 9.17.3).

Negation in Uduk is expressed with the negator *yǐsā* (section 9.18), used as both a single word for 'no' as well as a negator. *Yǐsā* may be placed either before the verb, at the end of the clause, or both. It is also possible to use a clausal clitic *=à* (phonological alternations *yà* and *wà*), which only occurs in clause-final position, potentially in combination with *yǐsā*. It is thus possible to have three negators in a single clause: A *yǐsā* VO *yǐsā yà*. The existential verb *dì* plus the Genitive *gì* is also used to negate verbs (section 9.18.3).

Although there are a variety of different structures available for clause linking, Uduk relies particularly heavily on what is called here clause chaining (section 10.5). This is a type of paratactic clause linking, in which long sequences of

quasi-dependent clauses are strung together, each chained clause having a non-finite verb construction with the Narrative *kí* (section 9.11). The Narrative *kí*, which triggers a type of co-subordination, is likely related to the complementizer *kí*, the primary method of forming subordinate clauses. In addition to subordinate clauses, it is also used with complement clause marking (such as with 'say' verbs) (section 10.2), adverbializing of adjectives, and some types of nominal identification.

Subordination is generally marked with *kí* (section 10.4), but there are additional ways to mark subordination. Adverbial subordinators include *wàḵkí* for conditional clauses, *gòm* for adversative clauses, and *mè'd* for temporal clauses. Relative clauses are formed with *jìn* and its plural form *kūn*. Both *jìn* and *kūn* may be replaced by the Genitive marker *gì* (section 10.3).

Subordinate clauses with *mè'd* and relative clauses are marked differently than main clauses in terms of alignment; they occur verb initially rather than medially, and monovalent clauses are Marked Nominative in these constructions.

Coordinate clauses may be linked in one of a few ways (section 10.6). *Dhàlì* 'and, but', is the most common means for coordinating two independent clauses, relatively neutral in its semantic connotations. The linker[7] *ì* is used with serial verb and auxiliary verb constructions; it may also in some instances connect clauses which share the same subject. Finally, clauses may also be linked through the word *tānín*. *Tānín* is complicated, as it has uses both as a filler word as well as more meaningful grammatical uses. It is generally used to delimit speech acts into smaller sections in some way, such as with fronted topics. It also marks a transition from one idea to the next, or when a speaker signals the end of a single speech acts, and thus is frequently found as a clause linking device.

[7]Note that the use of the term linker here refers only to a morpheme linking two verbs. It does not refer to a subject-predicate linking device, as used in the generative tradition of linguistics.

Chapter 2

Segmental Phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses primarily on the contrastive features of the phonological segmental system of Uduk, as well as word-internal segmental constraints. It is divided into three primary sections, and a smaller fourth. Section 2.2 deals with the basic syllabic structure of Uduk word roots and their phonotactic constraints. Section 2.3 follows with a presentation of the consonantal inventory and the distributional restrictions of consonants. Also included in this section is an exploration of some phonological rules associated with consonants. Section 2.4 focuses on the basic vowel inventory of Uduk, their distributional restrictions, and phonological rules associated with vowels. The chapter ends with section 2.5, a short aside on the segmental phonology of borrowed words.

Uduk is a language with a rich phonology, including some unusual consonantal contrasts such as dental and alveolar ejectives. There are also complex tone-consonant interactions suggesting a historical shift with depressor consonants, described more thoroughly in the following chapter in section 3.3. This is one of the first Nilo-Saharan languages known to have an effect with depressor consonants.

Uduk has a relatively simple vowel system compared to other Koman languages, with 5 phonemically contrastive vowels /i, ɛ, a, ɔ, u/[1]. This system has vestiges of an older, more complex, vowel system based on Tongue Root differences, however; furthermore, preliminary studies of the variety of Uduk spoken further south along the Yabus river suggest that it has a contrastive ATR vowel harmony system parallel to other Koman languages. More work is needed to determine the details of how this system works. A description of some differences between Yabus Uduk and the variety spoken around Chali may be found in section B of the Appendix.

Both this chapter as well as Chapter 3 use a dual method of transcription. In

[1] Standard phonological conventions are used here, enclosing a symbol in forward slashes /a/ for phonemic representation, in brackets [a] for phonetic representation, and angle brackets <a> for a graphemic or orthographic representation.

tables, references in text, and descriptions, a slightly modified version of the IPA is used. Standard IPA notations are used with the following exceptions:

- <y> refers to the IPA palatal glide /j/
- <j> refers to the IPA palatal plosive /ɟ/
- <ɨ> and <ʉ> refer to -ATR vowel qualities /i̟/ (conventionally /ɪ/) and /u̟/ (conventionally /ʊ/)
- Labialized consonants are written with a sequence of Cw rather than the raised C^w, except in phoneme charts

All tables and references to Uduk in Chapters 2 and 3 which do not have explicit descriptions of the transcription used may be assumed to be using the modified version of the IPA.

Glossed examples use a variant of the Uduk standard orthography in addition to the IPA. All consonants and vowels are written as in the orthography, with the exception of the glottal stop /, written here as <ʔ>.

The alphabet used in the orthography is as follows, with the IPA representation below:

a	b	’b	c	c̲	’c	d	’d	dh	e	g	h	i	j	k
a (ʌ)	b	ɓ	c	c^h	c’	d	ɗ	d̪	e (ɛ)	g	h	i (ɨ)	ɟ	k
k̲	’k	l	m	n	ŋ	ny	o	p	p̲	’p	r	s	sh	t
k^h	k’	l	m	n	ŋ	ɲ	o (ɔ)	p	$p\overline{\ }^h$	p’	r	s	ʃ	t
t̲	’t	th	t̲h	’th	u	w	y	/						
t^h	t’	t̪	$\overline{t̪}^h$	t̪’	u (ʉ)	w	j	ʔ						

The Uduk orthography was first developed by the Forsberg missionaries, together with Roland Stevenson via correspondence. It was further revised by Mary Beam and Elizabeth Cridland in 1956, and remains the current orthography used today. It does not mark tone, and often uses an ad-hoc method of lexical distinctions with tonal minimal pairs. This work instead marks tone in all examples, and also changes individual words to more closely match the way they are pronounced when possible.

Beginning from Chapter 4, the modified orthography is the only method used for transcription[2].

The only books written in Uduk are 3 literacy primers, some hymnals, and the New Testament of the Bible, although the Sudan Bible Society has recently decided to translate the whole of the Old Testament as well.

Other texts also can be found in Wendy James’ anthropological works, including songs and stories. Informally, the Uduk also use their language frequently

[2]One additional complication arises with writing Uduk, namely that there are a number of prefixes and particles which undergo a resyllabification process, moving leftward to form a phonological unit with the previous word. This movement applies only when valid morphological hosts are available, typically nouns or verbs. The repercussions of this are extensive, described more thoroughly in section 3.5. The Uduk orthography generally prefers to write the language with phonological word divisions, but this method could falsely lead the reader to think that there is a higher degree of grammatical integratedness than there actually is, such as nominal case markers forming a phonological unit with the verb. As a result, I have chosen to write all markers which undergo this process as separate particles, except when specifically referring to the phonological consequences of their resyllabification, for which the clitic sign = is used.

on the internet and via text messages, although technical and linguistic complications often force them to write messages in English.

2.2 Phonotactics

This section focuses on permissible syllable structures and their constraints with consonant clusters and vowel sequences. Word classes do not differ substantially from each other in their phonotactic structure, and there is little to distinguish verbs from nouns, with one minor exception. There are two grammatical genders in Uduk, Class I and Class II. Class II nouns begin with the particle *à* in most syntactic positions, optionally in citation form. This does not help in distinguishing verb roots from other types of nouns, however, as Class I nouns are structurally identical to verb roots.

The most frequent form of noun and verb roots in Uduk is CVC, although a variety of additional phonotactic structures are possible. Consonant clusters in word-initial and word-final positions are not permitted; word-internal clusters occur with some restrictions as a result of syllable sequences. There are no vowel diphthongs in Uduk, but vowel sequences occur in limited circumstances across morpheme boundaries. Sonorants may occur as syllabic consonants before or after other syllables, but they do not occur on their own as lexemes. Simple noun and verb roots rarely exceed two syllables.

Possible structures can be seen in table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Lexeme Root Syllable Structure

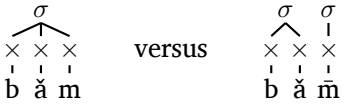
V	ó	‘to speak’
VC	úr	‘to herd, chase’
V.CV	ūc^{h}í	‘children’
V.CVC	ōhōn	‘to groan’
VC.CVC	ēmbŭl	‘time, space’
V.CVC.CV	ērēnté	‘small, thin body’
CV	dì	‘to be located’
CVC	ŋáp^{h}	‘to want, seek’
CV.CV	jălā	‘jackal’
CV.CVC	jàbùṭ̓	‘tear, from eye’
CVC.CVC	k^{h}ānṭ̓í?	‘common fly’
Ç.CV	ńní	‘long ago, far away’
Ç.CVC	ŋ̀k’ōɗ	‘then, after’
V.Ç	ám̀	‘we, exclusive (paucal)’
CV.Ç	múm̀	‘friend’

Most word classes of Uduk have a distinct preference for consonant-initial syllables, although vowel-initial words are possible as well. One exception to this is with personal pronouns, which all begin with a vowel. Vowel-initial words are generally pronounced with an initial glottal stop, but there is some degree of free variation. There is no functional contrast between ?VC and VC in citation form. Words ending in /?/ retain the sound only in isolation or pre-pause

position.

Syllabic consonants are possible both before consonants and after vowels, and all sonorants have the possibility to be syllabic. This includes nasals, /l/, /r/, /w/, and /y/. No instance is known of a syllabic consonant followed by an initial vowel, and nasals appear to be the only consonants which occur syllabically in word-initial position. All syllabic consonants are tone-bearing units (TBUs).

Word-final syllabic consonants may be contrastive with consonants permitted in the coda position of the syllable. As an example, the lexeme *bǎm*, 'bustard', has a CVC structure, and /m/ forms the coda of the syllable. However, *bǎm̃*, 'our', has a structure of CV.C̩, in which /m/ is not the coda of the syllable but rather the nucleus of its own syllable. A comparison of the two syllable structure types are given below, using the multi-tiered model described by Clements and Keyser (1983)[3].

(5) 

2.3 Consonants

2.3.1 Consonant Inventory

Table 2.2: Consonant Inventory

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Unaspirated	p p^w	t̪ [$t̪^w$]	t		c c^w	k k^w	ʔ
Aspirated	p^h p^{hw}	$t̪^h$	t^h [t^{hw}]		c^h c^{hw}	k^h k^{hw}	
Ejective	p'	t̪'	t' t'^w		c' c'^w	k' k'^w	
Voiced	b b^w	d̪	d d^w		j j^w	g g^w	
Implosive	ɓ $ɓ^w$		ɗ $ɗ^w$				
Fricatives	(ɸ)		s	ʃ $ʃ^w$		(x)	h
Nasals	m [m^w]		n		ɲ [$ɲ^w$]	ŋ $ŋ^w$	
Lateral			l				
Trill			r				
Approx.					y	w	

Consonants in parentheses are non-phonemic allophonic alternations; consonants in brackets are considered rare or marginal phonemes.

The consonant system in Uduk includes a 5-way contrast place of articulation with stops, and a further 4-5-manner contrast with stops, that of ejective, aspirated, unaspirated, and voiced consonants, as well as implosive consonants

[3]These examples are merely visual aids; this grammatical description does not assume a generative framework.

in two additional places of articulation. Note that the palatal plosives are actually palatal (c, ɟ) and not post-alveolar (tʃ, dʒ). The difference between the post-alveolar and palatal places of articulation does have some significance phonologically in the consonant harmony system. It is also notable that Uduk does have a robust phonemic distinction between /l/ and /r/, which is fully contrastive initially, medially, and finally. Labialization has additional restrictions and complications, discussed below in section 2.3.3.

There is a further complication which should be mentioned. The northern varieties of Uduk are currently going through a process of change in which there is a collapse between the voiced and voiceless plosives. The stage at which the process is at varies somewhat from speaker to speaker, and how precise of a contrast is needed in a particular situation, but in general it is rare that an actual voicing contrast is made. Voiced plosives historically have triggered a depressor consonant effect on the tone of the individual syllable associated with the consonant. This led to a situation in which there were very few situations in which a voiced plosive could contrast minimally with a voiceless plosive, potentially leading to the voicing distinction loss. Yabus Uduk, described further in section B, retains the voicing distinction, however.

2.3.2 Evidence for Consonantal Contrasts

Nouns and verbs share the same structure in terms of roots, so this sections makes use of both types to establish minimal contrasts. This does not include, however, verbal or nominal morphology, nor would it include any morphophonology changes. Furthermore, in a C_1VC_2 structure, the final consonant has no influence on C_1. Due to the size of the consonant inventory and the lack of suitable minimal pairs for all situations, this section focuses on minimal syllable contrasts as opposed to minimal root pairs.

(6) Contrastive Examples for Bilabial Plosives

Uduk	*Gloss*	*Uduk*	*Gloss*
pʰí	‘to drink’	pí	‘to come out’
pí	‘to come out’	pʼíɗ	‘to shell corn’
pā	‘village’	bàm	‘bone at Achilles’ tendon’
ɓāʔ	‘neck’	bàkʼ	‘to hide’
ʼpér	‘red’	ɓér (ɓān)	‘to ache (of head)’
pʰʷáʔ	‘to skin an animal’	pʰáɗ	‘to spread cloth’
pʷáʈʰ	‘to cut into small pieces’	pāʃ	‘to give (salt, dates)’
bʷà	‘bow, stomach’	bàɗ	‘oval’
ɓʷāʔ	‘daughter’	ɓāʔ	‘neck’

(7) Contrastive Examples for Dental Plosives

Uduk	*Gloss*	*Uduk*	*Gloss*
t̪ʰát̪’	‘wooden hammer’	t̪á?	‘arrowhead’
t̪á?	‘arrowhead’	t̪’ā	‘to light a fire’
t̪ám	‘find with spear’	d̪àm	‘bee, honey’
t̪ʷáŋgà?	‘type of flute’	t̪á?	‘arrowhead’

(8) Contrastive Examples for Alveolar Plosives

Uduk	*Gloss*	*Uduk*	*Gloss*
tʰā?	‘to thatch’	t’ád	‘to operate, conduct surgery’
tā	‘to be’	dàkʰ	‘to be finished’
t’ó?	‘to divide’	dō	‘to bring things’
tʰʷā?ā?	‘first’	tʰāk’	‘to toss’
t’ʷá?	‘mouth’	t’ád	‘to operate’
dʷàr	‘to insert’	dàr	‘to lack’
dʷā?	‘frog’	dákʰ	‘scorpion’

(9) Contrastive Examples for Dental and Alveolar Plosive Contrasts

Uduk	*Gloss*	*Uduk*	*Gloss*
t̪á?	‘arrowhead’	tá	‘what’
t̪ʰát̪’	‘wooden hammer’	tʰáɓ	‘to mold grain’
d̪ù	‘to keep, govern’	dù	‘liver’
t̪’ám	‘wind, n.’	t’ām	‘to coil’

(10) Contrastive Examples for Palatal Plosives

Uduk	*Gloss*	*Uduk*	*Gloss*
cím	‘day’	cʰím	‘poison’
c’í	‘child’	cí	‘creature’
jè	‘elephant’	cé	‘horn (of animal)’
cʰʷà	‘emphatic no, refusal’	cʰāɓ	‘to sit’
cʷá	‘tree’	cām	‘left (as opposed to right)’
c’ʷām	‘to lift out of a pot’	c’āɲ	‘to revert, of discussion’
jʷà	‘boil, swelling’	jàn	‘dream’

(11) Contrastive Examples for Velar Phonemes

Uduk	*Gloss*	*Uduk*	*Gloss*
kʰár	‘to fork (of road)’	k’ár	‘to look around’
kār	‘to put down’	gàr	‘to replace’
kʰʷá?	‘to clear up’	kʰā?	‘to ferment’
kʷān	‘your mother’	kām	‘brother’
k’ʷā	‘gourd’	k’á	‘dog’
gʷăm	‘to forgive’	gàm	‘to find’

(12) Contrastive Examples for Nasals

Uduk	*Gloss*	*Uduk*	*Gloss*
mà	‘food’	nà	‘nephew’
ɲàl	‘to scurry’	ŋàl	‘to carry’
ŋá?	‘newborn baby, infant’	ŋʷá	‘hen, chicken’
ŋòk’	‘prolifically, of grain’	ŋʷòl	‘lame, crippled’

(13) Contrastive Examples for Fricatives

Uduk	*Gloss*	*Uduk*	*Gloss*
hó	‘to pick beans, etc.’	ó	‘to speak’
súm	‘python’	ʃūm	‘meat, flesh’

(14) Contrastive Examples for Other Sonorants

Uduk	*Gloss*	*Uduk*	*Gloss*
réɗ	‘to fence’	lèɗ	‘tongue’
yà	‘to go, sg.’	wà	‘to be like’

2.3.3 Interpretation of Labialization

Labialization is a secondary means of articulation among a majority of the consonants in Uduk. Labialized consonants only occur word-initially, before the

vowel /a/. Although labialized consonants could also be analyzed as consonant sequences, phonological evidence suggests that Cw sequences function as a single unit rather than a sequence.

The most important evidence here stems from the depressor consonant effects and consonant-tone restrictions. All consonants in Uduk have restrictions regarding what tones may co-occur when that consonant is in syllable-onset position. These restrictions originate from a historical depressor consonant shift, described in further detail in section 3.3. The labiovelar approximant /w/ occurs before vowels with the tones L, LH, or H, and is restricted from occurring directly before M.

Labialized consonants, however, always carry the same tonal restrictions as the consonant they labialize, rather than following the restrictions that /w/ would have. *kwá*, 'leopard', and *kwās*, 'brand', are examples of a labialized k in which both H and M tones are permitted. There is no possibility of L tones occurring with /kw/, however, unlike words with /w/ alone, e.g. *wàc'*, 'fish' and *wùt*^{h} 'ostrich'.

Two other pieces of evidence suggest that these are not sequences of consonants, phonotactics and vowel-consonant co-occurrence.

Labialized consonants only occur phonologically before the vowel /a/, although there is an unrelated phenomenon of automatic labialization when velar stops co-occur with the vowel /o/. They do not otherwise occur before other vowels[4]. The glide /w/, on the other hand, occurs with numerous examples of /u/ and /o/, and a handful of examples with /i/ and /e/.

Furthermore, phonotactic constraints do not permit any onset consonant clusters, including with the glide /y/. If labialized consonants are treated as single consonants rather than consonant sequences, then Uduk has no initial consonant clusters permitted in a syllable.

The resulting consonant inventory does not exhibit a completely systematic distribution throughout the inventory, but alternative approaches are equally problematic. If one takes the approach that these are consonant sequences, the tone restrictions would result in an additional 30 or so rules for each consonant sequence, and justifications would have to be made for the vowel-consonant interactions.

Ultimately, however, as all possible analyses have their difficulties, choices must be made as to which approach to take. Tonal evidence is taken here to be the key factor, and more data may lead to a more systematic distribution. Other researchers working on languages in the area have run into similar analytical problems, such as Ahland (2012b) and Rapold (2006). CC cluster analyses are chosen for Omotic, but the details vary, and what is taken to be the key factor here with depressor consonants does not exist with Bechnon and Mao.

[4]One known lexeme breaks this rule: *à mwí*, 'kinship term for a man's sister's children'.

2.3.4 Distributional Restrictions

With the exception of the glottal stop, every consonant can occur contrastively in onset position in Uduk, although some consonants do have restrictions as to what vowel can occur after the consonant. As mentioned previously, phonemically labialized consonants only occur before the vowel /a/. The glottal stop /ʔ/ does not contrast with words beginning with vowels; words beginning with vowels generally insert a glottal stop initially in isolation or when stressed, and otherwise do not use the glottal stop. There is some degree of free variation with this, however. Words ending in /ʔ/ also often drop the sound when not in isolation or pre-pause position.

In root-medial position (C_2 of C_1VC_2V), there are minimal amounts of restrictions. Labialized consonants do not occur intervocalically, except in compounds. There is a tendency to avoid ejectives root-internally, but they do occur in limited amounts, particularly in reduplicated stative verbs. There is also a tendency to avoid the velar nasal *ŋ* intervocalically; many words which historically were $C_1VC_2V(C)$ with C_2 being *ŋ* are now adding an additional plosive after C_2, creating CVCCV(C). As an example, the number four was more commonly pronounced as *dòŋòn* earlier, but now is more often said as *dòŋgòn*.

In word-final position, aspirated plosives, most ejectives, implosives, fricatives, and sonorants may occur; this includes /ʔ/, /h/, /w/, and /y/. Words cannot end in voiced or voiceless unaspirated plosives, nor can they end in /p'/ or /t'/.

Table 2.3: Consonant Inventory in Final Position

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Unaspirated							ʔ
Aspirated	pʰ	t̪ʰ	tʰ		cʰ	kʰ	
Ejective		t̪'			c'	k'	
Voiced							
Implosive	ɓ		ɗ				
Fricatives			s	ʃ			(h)
Nasals	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral			l				
Trill			r				
Approx.					y	w	

Word-medial consonant sequences in roots are relatively relaxed in terms of co-occurrence, although there is a distinct preference for dissimilar consonants for manner of articulation, and similar for place. Consonants in coda position word-internally mostly follow the same rules as those in root-final position, with some minor exceptions. C_1 in CVC_1C_2VC roots cannot be /ʔ/, /w/, or /y/, or /h/. Plosives of any kind generally only occur in C_1 of CVC_1C_2VC when followed by a velar consonant, with few exceptions. Nasals, sibilants, /l/, and /r/ are commonly found in C_1, particularly in combination with plosives.

C_2 of CVC_1C_2VC is typically a plosive, particularly after a nasal of the same place of articulation. However, C_2 may also be a nasal or sibilant, when occurring after /l/ or /r/. There is a general sonority principle with consonant

co-occurrence, from more to less (or at least equal) sonorant. Oral sonorants (/l/, /r/, /w/, /y/) as well as /h/ cannot occur in C_2 position.

Root medial position also does get sporadic geminated consonants, but the number of systematically differentiating examples is limited in practice. Long consonants could either be analyzed as the sequence CVC_1C_2V, or as a single phoneme CVC:V. Due to the limited amount of lexemes, it is simplest to analyze these as a sequence across syllable boundaries, rather than postulating separate phonemes. Geminates are found primarily in demonstratives, although other lexemes such as *cʰáɓːā*, 'domestic cat', and *hālːā*, 'beard', do appear.

It is worth noting in particular that although the glides /y/ and /w/ sound like they could be diphthongs when occurring as the coda of a syllable, evidence suggests that that these are consonants and not vowels.

In Possessive constructions, words ending in a vowel add a homorganic nasal agreeing in place of articulation with the following consonant.

(15) *à ʼká*
à k'á
CL2 dog

'(a) dog'

(16) *ʼká-m pém*
k'á-m pém
dog-ASS POSS.1SG

'my dog'

This is in contrast to words ending in a consonants, which do not receive the Associative nasal marker.

(17) *k̲āʼbāl*
kʰāɓāl
sheep

'(a) sheep'

(18) *k̲āʼbāl pém*
kʰāɓāl pém
sheep POSS.1SG

'my sheep'

Words ending in glides pattern identically to those ending in other types of consonants.

(19) *à nyǎw*
à ɲǎw
CL2 cat

'(a) cat'

(20) *nyǎw pém*
ɲǎw pém
cat POSS.1SG

'my cat'

Glides can occur after all vowel qualities, including /i/ and /u/, and glides may also be found with vowels identical to the place of articulation (e.g. /iy/ and /uw/). A sequence of /iw/ is found in the word *pʰīw*, 'very red'. The word for 'soup broth', *à wìy*, occurs with a sequence of *i* followed by *y*. A near-minimal pair comparison with broth would be à wí, 'reedbuck'.

Glides are generally not Tone-Bearing Units. However, there is a single lexeme known so far borrowed from Arabic, *áw̄*, 'or', in which a glide is a TBU. This could also be instead argued to be an exception to the restriction of vowel sequences in word roots, transcribed instead as *áū*.

2.3.5 Consonant Harmony

Consonant harmony systems are common in the Sudan-Ethiopia borderlands, particularly in West Nilotic languages, which have had a notable impact on Uduk as far as contact influence. Päri, Alur, Luo, and Shilluk have all been shown to have root-internal coronal harmony systems, in which there is a co-occurrence restriction on dental vs. alveolar stops and nasals (e.g. Andersen 1988a; Tucker 1994; Reh 1996, summarized in Hansson 2010). In Mayak, one of the closest geographical languages to Uduk, this harmony extends to suffixes as well (Andersen 1999). Other language groups in the area which are not genetically related to Uduk have also been shown to have consonant harmony systems; root-internal sibilant harmony is reconstructable for Proto-Omotic, according to Hayward (1988).

The Uduk consonant harmony system is a phonotactic root-internal constraint, and appears to stem from an apical-laminal root harmony system (and is thus connected to both the sibilant harmony in Omotic and the West Nilotic coronal harmony). However, it is not without exception, conditioned by the initial consonant in the root. Certain sets of phonemes restrictions occur without exception, and other sets show a preference rather than having absolute restrictions. Dental stops, palatal stops, and the sibilant /s/ are all laminal and fall into one class of sounds, whereas alveolar stops and the sibilant /ʃ/ fall into the other class of sounds.

There are two primary restrictions in which there are no exceptions: dental and alveolar stops do not co-occur in the same root, and /s/ and /ʃ/ do not occur

with each other in roots. Verbal suffixes, which include the alveolar /ɗ/, do co-occur with dental consonants. The consonants /l/, /r/, and most nasals do not participate in any harmony system, and can occur with either dental or alveolar stops. Dental stops do not occur with /ʃ/, and alveolar generally do not occur with /s/, with some exceptions.

Palatal stops, which do not exactly participate in the harmony system, nonetheless show a distinct preference for co-occurrence with dental stops over alveolar. Words beginning with alveolar stops do not have any instances of palatal stop co-occurrence, including with the palatal nasal /ɲ/. Words beginning with /ʃ/ also do not occur with palatal stops; words beginning with /s/ do occur with palatal stops in limited instances.

Words beginning with palatal stops, however, occur with numerous instances of /ɗ/, as well as /tʰ/ in more limited instances, such as demonstratives and the lexemes *jìtʰ* 'grass root ornament', *jìtʰíʔ* 'sweat, perspiration'. Furthermore, palatal stops do not have progressive restrictions on co-occurrence with /s/ or /ʃ/, despite the fact that the reverse is not true.

A summary of the harmony system can be found in table 2.4, with the letters going down on the left signifying the progressive conditioning; the letters at the top signify whether they can co-occur with the letters going down. Parentheses indicate restricted amounts of lexemes.

Table 2.4: Uduk Consonant Harmony

	t̪	t̪ʰ	t̪’	ɗ̪	t	tʰ	t’	ɗ	d	s	ʃ	c	cʰ	c’	j	n	ɲ
t̪	+	+	+	+						+		+	+	+	+	+	+
t̪ʰ	+	+	+	+						+		+	+	+	+	+	+
t̪’	+	+	+	+						+		+	+	+	+	+	+
ɗ̪	+	+	+	+						+		+	+	+	+	+	+
t					+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+					+	
tʰ					+	+	+	+	+		+					+	
t’					+	+	+	+	+		+					+	
ɗ					+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+					+	
d					+	+	+	+	+		+					+	
s	+	+	+	+				+		+				(+)		+	(+)
ʃ					+	+	+	+	+		+					+	
c	+	+	+	+				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
cʰ	+	+	+	+		(+)		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
c’	+	+	+	+				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
j	+	+	+	+		(+)		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
n	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ɲ	+	+	+	+				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

2.3.6 Phonological Processes

This section focuses on some of the more salient phonological processes of Uduk consonants. There are a number of phonological processes which take place, some of which are root-internal, others which appear across morpheme boundaries.

2.3.6.1 Word-final unreleased glottalized consonants

Implosives and ejectives are generally pronounced with no audible release in word-final position. In the standard variety of Uduk, this include /ɓ, ɗ, kʼ, tʼ, t̪ʼ/; in Yabus Uduk, this also includes /sʼ/ and /ʃʼ/. In careful speech, they may be optionally released. One further alternation occurs in that /kʼ/ frequently alternates with the glottal stop /ʔ/ in free variation in final position, particularly in verb roots.

While this may be somewhat unusual, other Koman languages may also follow a similar trend in having unreleased glottalized stops in final position (Manuel Otero, p.c. for Komo, Justin Goldberg, p.c. Gwama; see also Otero (2015c)).

2.3.6.2 Consonant Lenition

Consonant lenition occurs with two types of consonants: aspirated plosives and implosives.

Aspirated consonants /p^h/ and /k^h/ have some spirantization alternations which occur to some extent in free variation. /p^h/ is realized as [p^h] primarily in onset position; medially or finally, it is typically, although not consistently, realized as [ɸ]. Word initially, [ɸ] and [p^h] alternate freely, and there does not seem to be a frequency preference. For /k^h/, [k^h] also occurs primarily in onset position; in medial and final position, it undergoes lenition to [x] or even [h].

Implosives /ɓ/ and /ɗ/ have a number of realizations in word-medial position. /ɗ/ can be pronounced as a released implosive, but it also may undergo spirantization or flapping, alternating with the retroflex flap [ɽ] or a retracted flat fricative ([ð̠]) in medial position. Medial /ɓ/ also can be pronounced as a released implosive, but it also alternates with [b], [p], or even further leniting into the fricative [β] or approximant [β̞].

2.3.6.3 Nasal Assimilation

There is a general co-occurrence restriction with nasal consonants and other obstruents in Uduk, in which nasal consonants must agree with the place of articulation of the following consonant. This applies to nasals occurring with other nasals, nasals occurring with fricatives, and nasals occurring with stops.

Thus, only the bilabial nasal can occur before bilabial consonants, the alveolar nasal before alveolar and dental consonants, the palatal nasal before palatal consonants, and the velar nasal before velar consonants. Dental consonants appear to be something of an exception to the general situation; there is no phonemic dental nasal consonant, and even phonetic alternation from /n/ to /n̪/ before dental consonants does not seem to be common.

This restriction occurs word internally across syllables CVN.C (e.g. *ūŋcūr* ‘grey’), as well as with syllabic nasals followed by consonants (e.g. *ńtʰwā?ā?* ‘first’).

This assimilation rule also applies across morpheme boundaries. The Associative construction uses a homorganic nasal agreeing with the place of articu-

lation of the following consonant, if the initial word ends in a vowel and the following word begins with a plosive.

In table 2.5, some examples are given of compounds formed with the word *mò* 'place; time'.

Table 2.5: Associative Construction Nasal Assimilation

Bilabial	mòm bwǎm ē	Midnight (time of face)
Dental	mòn t̪'ámō	Morning (time of early morning)
Alveolar	mòn té	Afternoon (time of sun)
Palatal	mòɲ c'ésh	World (place of soil)
Velar	mòŋ kúsh	Daytime (time of white)

2.3.6.4 Plosive Insertion

There is a tendency to avoid the velar nasal *ŋ* intervocalically, and many speakers will add a velar plosive after the velar nasal. As an example, the stative verb *dāŋgádāŋ* 'to be salty, of liquids' is formed from the root *dāŋ*. Stative verbs normally use a type of reduplication in their constructions with a high-toned *á* inserted in between the initial part of the verb and the reduplicated form. As a result, one would expect *dāŋádāŋ* instead of *dāŋgádāŋ*.

2.3.6.5 Automatic Labialization

Separate from phonemic contrasts of labialized consonants is a phonological process of automatic labialization with the velar consonants /ŋ/, /k/, /k^{h}/, /k'/, and /g/ before the vowel /ɔ/ (orthographic <o>). This primarily occurs in open-syllable words, and furthermore affects the quality of the vowel, changing [ɔ] to [o]. The lexemes *kó* 'milk', *gò* 'message', *k'ó* 'to be located, pl.' and *k^{h}ō* 'to fear' for instance would each be pronounced respectively as [k^{w}ó], [g^{w}ò], [k^{w}'ó], and [k^{hw}ō]. This is in contrast to words like *k'ó∫*, 'to hit', which remains as [k'ɔ́∫].

Automatic labialization is affected by situations in which morphophonology triggers resyllabification; as an example, *k'ód* ([k'ɔd]) 'back of head' also functions as a nominal locator with the meaning of 'behind (something)'. This is a closed syllable CVC lexeme. Before Class II nouns, however, this becomes *k'ódā*, changing the structure of the word to CV.CV, and thus is pronounced as [k^{w}'ódā].

2.3.6.6 Processes Across Morpheme Boundaries

Changes described previously (such as word-medial implosive weakening) have identical changes across morpheme boundaries as well as in root-internal position. However, there are additional morphophonological changes as well, which occur only as a result of suffixation or cliticization. This primarily affects unreleased consonants.

Unreleased ejectives moving to an intervocalic position change into plain forms, and can be both voiced and voiceless. /t̪'/ and /k'/ further optionally lenite into voiced fricatives [ð̪] and [ɣ]. The changes appear to be relatively stable, but the rules for the choice of voiced vs. voiceless alternations are as of yet still unclear. The unreleased ejective in *cīc'*, 'to enter', alternates with the voiced palatal stop with additional suffixes, e.g. Imperative *cījī*, 'enter!'. However, *k'úc'*, 'to fold', has an alternation of *k'úcī* 'fold!' in the Imperative form.

A list of possible allophonic realizations may be found in table 2.6.

Table 2.6: Allophonic Realizations

Phoneme	Medial allophone	Final allophone
p^h k^h	ɸ k^h, x, h	ɸ k^h, x, h
$t̪^h$ c^h t^h	$t̪^h$, t̪ c^h, c t^h, t	$t̪^h$, $t̪^{\neg}$ c^h, $c^{\neg}$ t^h, $t^{\neg}$
ɓ ɗ	ɓ, b, β ɗ, d, ð̪, ɽ	ɓ, $ɓ^{\neg}$ ɗ, $ɗ^{\neg}$
t̪' c' k'	t̪, d̪, ð̪ c, ɟ k, g, ɣ	t̪', $t̪'^{\neg}$ c', $c'^{\neg}$ k', $k'^{\neg}$, ʔ

It is possible that the historical ATR contrast in the vowel system has resulted in synchronically opaque alternations, with both ejectives as well as implosives. Yabus Uduk still retains fully voiced consonants as well as additional vowel qualities based on ATR. Furthermore, their morphophonological alternations of final consonants appear to be more systematic.

Further investigations into this more conservative dialect could shed light on the origins of the synchronic alternations in the northern varieties of Uduk.

2.3.7 Voiced Plosives

The voiced series of plosives in Uduk causes difficulties in terms of analysis, as it is a system in transition which has not fully shifted. For the most part, the distinction between the voiced and voiceless set of plosives is becoming neutralized, synchronically. Some speakers can make occasional distinctions between voiced and voiceless plosives, and voiceless plosives do become voiced in certain phonological environments, but in practice tone has become the sole factor in distinguishing the 'voiced' series of plosives.

This loss has appeared due to two phonological shifts historically (described more thoroughly in section 3.3): the first created a situation in which all L tones occurring on moras beginning with voiced obstruents were lowered (L $\rightarrow$ LL). A further change happened with voiced plosives only, adding an extra L to H to create a LH contour (H $\rightarrow$ LH).

Once these tone shifts occurred, a situation was created in which there were multiple cues for distinguishing the plosive series: tone differentiations, as well

as vocal fold vibrations. The actual voicing component began to be lost, and the transition seems to be towards the end of the loss.

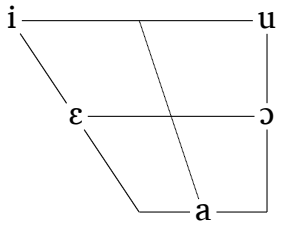
As the tone does keep the consonants consistently distinct, speakers do feel that the consonants in themselves are somehow distinct as well. In practice, however, most of the time tone is the only synchronic cue to distinguish /b/ and p/, /t̪/ and /d̪/, /t/ and /d/, /c/ and j/, and /k/ and /g/.

2.4 Vowels

2.4.1 Vowel Inventory

There are 5[5] phonemically contrastive vowels in the main dialects of Uduk spoken around Chali, as seen in table 2.7[6].

Table 2.7: Uduk Vowel Inventory



Uduk's vowel system appears to be a reduction of an earlier, more complex, system which had two additional high vowels, /ɨ/ and /ʉ/ along with a system of vowel assimilation. This type of system is known as ATR (Advanced Tongue Root) Harmony, and is a widespread phonological pattern throughout Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan languages, in which vowels change based on the presence or absence of the phonological feature [ATR] (Casali 2008). All other living Koman languages have a 7-vowel inventory of /i, ɨ, ɛ, ɔ, ʉ, u, a/ with ATR vowel harmony (see e.g. Otero 2015a for Komo, Hellenthal and Lojenga 2011 for Gwama, and van Silfhout 2013 for Opuo). A similar system also appears in Yabus Uduk, and vestiges of the old ATR system may be found in the northern varieties of Uduk.

Phonetically, these vowels occupy a wide space, in approximately the same range as ATR qualities of neighboring and related languages. Surface forms of /i ɛ a ɔ u/ would include [ɨ, e, ʌ, o, and ʉ], respectively. These surface alternations occur as a result of syllable structure, neighboring consonants, and likely their historical forms. Phonetic vowel qualities are only partially predictable, and free variation is common. Further research is needed to determine the

[5]My understanding of the Uduk vowel system would not have happened without Constance-Kutsch Lojenga's invaluable help, who spent multiple weeks working with me in the field on Uduk vowels and tone.

[6]The vowel phoneme /ɛ/ is represented in this work by the orthographic form of <e>; similarly, the vowel phoneme /ɔ/ is represented by the orthographic form of <o>.

specifics of how the phonetic environment can affect the surface form of the vowel.

The following table gives evidence for phonemic vowel contrasts:

(21) Contrastive Examples of Vowel phonemes

Uduk	*Gloss*	*Uduk*	*Gloss*
sā	'to dance'	sī	'to plant; digging stick'
sō	'to run, pl.'	sē	'to enter, ascend'
sū	'beer'		

Despite the general systematic loss of ATR qualities and vowel harmony, certain grammatical morphemes appear to have retained their original ATR qualities, seen in table 2.8. A reminder of the vowel quality of the grammatical morphemes is also given in the sections which describe their function.

Table 2.8: Morphemes which still retain ATR distinctions

Orthographic	Phonetic	Class	Meaning
ĕ	ɪ̆	preposition	in, at, on; long-lasting
pém	pím	possessive pronoun	my
-ē	-ɪ̄	demonstrative submorpheme	Configuration 2 demonstratives

Some lexemes also may have retained some connection to their ATR qualities. The verbs *yɪ̀k*^{h}, 'to sow', and *c*^{h}*ɪ̄*, 'to give', both appear to have a -ATR high vowel. Suffixes with these verbs do not change their quality, however, nor do they trigger any changes in the root vowel.

2.4.2 Vowel Length

Vowel length in word roots in Uduk is not distinctive, although contour tones other than LH often trigger a phonetic lengthening. However, although there is no underlying vowel length in Uduk, contrastive vowel length does appear on the surface as a result of morphophonology.

One known instance in which contrastive vowel length occurs is with cliticized case markers. Class II Accusative case marker *ā* is one of the grammatical morphemes which move leftward, attaching to the end of the verb. When combined with 1SG and 1PL subject agreement marking on the verb (*-á* for 1SG and 1PE, *-à* for 1PI), the case marker coalesces with the agreement markers.

There is a further phonological rule stating that whenever the tone preceding the Accusative case marker is a L tone, the case marker must also be L. This

occurs both with two vowels directly next to each other, as well as those broken up by non-TBUs. Thus, when the Class II Accusative case marker combines with 1PI this creates a long low-toned *à*.

Examples may be seen below.

(22) *ám̄ p̲ī-ná yì'dé?*
ám̄ p^{h}ī-ná yìɗé?
1PE drink:IPFV-1PE water

'We (exclusive) are drinking water.'

(23) *ám̄ p̲ī-ná=ā sū*
ám̄ p^{h}ī-ná=ā sū
1PE drink:IPFV-1PE=ACC.CL2 beer

'We (exclusive) are drinking beer.'

(24) *ánā p̲ī-nà yì'dé?*
ánā p^{h}ī-nà yìɗé?
1PI drink:IPFV-1PI water

'We (inclusive) are drinking water.'

(25) *ánā p̲ī-nà=à sū*
ánā p^{h}ī-nà=à sū
1PI drink:IPFV-1PI=ACC.CL2 beer

'We (inclusive) are drinking beer.'

2.4.3 Vowel Distribution

Vowel distribution is relatively simple to describe, as there are few restrictions. All vowels may be occur in final and initial position, as well as occur on their own as separate lexemes.

Labialized consonants do have the restriction mentioned previously in that only the vowel /a/ may occur after a phonemically labialized consonant. Automatic labialization occurs before back rounded vowels, but this is a non-contrastive phonetic phenomenon.

No diphthongs or vowel sequences are permitted in native word roots. Vowel sequences across morpheme boundaries occur in limited instances, but glides are often inserted to break up the sequence. The addition of a glide is lexically determined rather than purely due to phonotactics.

As an example, the basic Imperative construction is formed with the suffix *-ī* attached to the end of a verb root. In combination with the verb *cū*, 'to stand up', the Imperative is *cūyī*, 'stand up!' with a glide inserted in between the two vowel sequences. The AD suffix *-í* may also attach to the end of some verb roots to form an Imperative with a ventive meaning. In combination with the same verb root *cū*, 'to stand up', the form of the verb is *cūí*, 'stand up (towards me)!' with no glide inserted.

2.4.4 Phonological Processes

There is a limited number of phonological processes involving vowels compared to consonants, most of which involve morphophonology, such as optional rounding harmony or vowel assimilation. These processes also generally occur in more restricted circumstances.

2.4.4.1 Vowel Insertion

One process which has a limited effect on word roots refers back to consonant clusters, particularly from borrowed words. This applies to word-initial clusters as well as internal clusters which break Uduk's sonority rules. Sonorants /l/ and /r/ cannot occur as the second consonant in a word-internal consonant sequence in Uduk, as an example. As a result, words borrowed from English or Arabic which might break this rule have a vowel inserted, e.g. *ʃúkūrān*, 'thank you', from Arabic *shukran*. The quality of the inserted vowel is generally identical to the preceding vowel.

2.4.4.2 Vowel Assimilation

Vowel assimilation in Uduk typically involves a change of the vowel *i*, where it either copies the features of a nearby vowel, or else it assimilates completely into the vowel, leaving behind the tone.

The first type of assimilation is a type of rounding harmony, an optional regressive process triggered with verbal affixes, although sometimes words following the verb can also trigger the rounding. The affixes *-ù*, *-ú*, *-kù*, and *-kú* cause an immediately preceding *i* to change to *u* as well. The root vowel of verbs does not change, but copied agreement markers can be changed.

(26) *jìs* *c̣wăny-ù* *mò*
jìs cʰwăɲ-ù mò
hole dig:IPFV-IMPRS MO

'The hole is (being) dug.'

(27) *jìs ç̆wǎny-kí-n ā wàthí? mò*
jìs c^{h}wǎɲ-kí-n ā wàt̪í? mò
hole dig:IPFV-AD1-NAS ERG.CL1 man MO

'The hole is being dug by the man.'

(28) *jìs ç̆wǎny-kú-nù mò*
jìs c^{h}wǎɲ-kú-nù mò
hole dig:IPFV-AD1-IMPRS MO

'The hole is being dug.'

This phenomenon can also be optionally found across morpheme boundaries before the glide /w/, such as in the example below.

(29) *á'dī běl-í wà'c năskínā?*
ádī běl-í wàc' năskínā?
3SG catch:IPFV-AD2 fish still

'He's still fishing (in a different place).'

(30) *á'dī běl-ú wà'c năskínā?*
ádī běl-ú wàc' năskínā?
3SG catch:IPFV-AD2 fish still

'He's still fishing (in a different place).'

Partial assimilation is also possible, but rare, in which /i/ is rounded to [ị] (IPA /y/, which otherwise in this work refers to the palatal glide).

Progressive rounding harmony assimilation can also occur, in which a vowel *u* can cause a subsequent *i* to change. In example (31), the root vowel of the verb *ʃūn* 'to cook', changes the suffix *-kí* into *-kú*.

(31) *wàthí? shūn-kú p̲ólóny*
wàt̪í? ʃūn-kú p̲^{h}ólóɲ
man cook:PFV-AD1 pumpkin

'The man is cooking the pumpkin(s) while the others have left.'

Another type of assimilation occurs primarily with two specific grammatical morphemes: the linker *ì* used in serial constructions, and the locative preposition *í*. When these occur after a vowel, the vowel *i* typically disappears, leaving behind the tone on the preceding TBU. Unlike the previous type of assimilation, these markers assimilate to all vowels, not just that of *u*. Both grammatical markers are the type which attach leftward to the previous word.

(32) *kātílí* *'kwāní* *mùr-í=ì* *ás* *tāní* *únī* *kí*
kātílí k'wāní mùr-í=ì ás tāní únī kí
yesterday people will.AUX:IPFV-AD2=LNK fight PHM 3PL NARR
yé gò īs *mò*
yé gò īs mò
cancel MO

'People were going to fight yesterday, but then they cancelled.'

(33) *áhā* *mùr-á=à* *ás*
áhā mùr-á=à ás
1SG intend:IPFV-1SG=LNK fight

'I'm going to fight.'

2.5 Segmental Phonology of Loan Words

Borrowed words from Arabic (the main language which words are borrowed from in Uduk) do not necessarily obey all the phonological rules that other words do. As most of these rules involve tone, discussed in the following chapter, there is only one main segmental variation which takes place, dealing with phonotactics.

Consonants in loan words can sometimes occur in positions in which they do not occur otherwise. The ejective /k'/, for instance, does not normally occur intervocalically. However, the verb to think (cognitively), *pʰìk'ír*, does have an ejective word-medially. Examples going against these types of phonotactic constraints are limited, but do show up sporadically.

Chapter 3

Suprasegmental Phonology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the phonology of the suprasegmental system in Uduk, primarily the way in which tone plays a role in the language. This includes the basic tonal inventory (section 3.2), the interaction between segmental phonology and suprasegmental phonology (section 3.3), tone in lexeme roots (section 3.4), and tonal interactions in morphology (section 3.6). In addition to tone, this chapter also describes a situation in which some grammatical forms realign themselves to form a phonological word with an immediately preceding lexeme (section 3.5), and its consequences in the phonology and morphosyntax of the language.

A language with tone is a language "...in which an indication of pitch enters into the lexical realization of at least some morphemes" (Hyman 2001, p. 1368). According to Kutsch-Lojenga (2011) there are two main types of tone languages in Africa: those with 'stable' tone, and those with 'changeable' tone, in which a number of tonal processes operate such that tones change depending on the context. Languages with stable tones tend to have more contrastive levels, shorter words, and a heavy functional load of tone, both in the lexicon and in the grammar.

For languages with 'stable' tone,

> ...the tonal melody of words in isolation remains the same in whatever tonal context the word may occur, i.e. there are no tonal rules which change tones in context. The tonal melody of a word may change for grammatical reasons, unrelated to the tonal environment of the word. In some languages, singular and plural nouns are differentiated by tone alone, locative marking may be done by tone alone, various tense/aspect paradigms may differ by tone alone. Such tonal changes most often have to be analyzed as tonal replacement, or as a floating tone attached to the tonal melody of the lexical morpheme. In context, these are not changed by their tonal environment...when learning to speak such a language as an

> outsider, one can learn the tones of nouns immediately with the segmentals, because the tones remain the same in every context (Kutsch Lojenga 2011, p. 5).

Uduk is a tonal language falling into this category. Tone plays a crucial role in Uduk, forming part of the phonology, the syntax, and the morphology. Aspectual grammatical categories are formed by tonal changes in verb roots. There are also irregular modifiers which mark plurality by tone alone, and some person-marking alternations in verbal morphology is also tonal. An understanding of tone is thus important to understanding the structure of the language in general.

The number of phonological rules which could move or change tone in Uduk is rather limited, however. The rules which do exist focus mostly on a historical development involving depressor consonants, restricting the environments in which certain tones can occur synchronically. Most tonal changes in Uduk involve tonal replacement or a floating tone, rather than tonal movement.

3.2 Tone Inventory

There are three tone levels, H, M, and L[1], and four basic tonemes in Uduk: L (à), M (ā), H (á), and LH (ǎ); these exist both on the surface and underlyingly. LM and ML contours do not appear in any lexeme roots. Other contours, such as HL, HM, and MH, occur only rarely, but are possible in both mono- and disyllabic nominal roots.

Contour tones also occur as a result of floating tones, but these appear to be dealt with somewhat differently in the phonology. Grammatical contour tones trigger a phonetic lengthening of the vowel. This does not appear to be the case, however, for contour tones which occur in root lexemes.

Table 3.1: Contrastive Root Tonemes

L	˩	sà	modal particle
M	˧	sā	to dance
H	˥	sáɗ, à	calf, of leg
HL	˥˩	sâɓ	bad (from Arabic ṣaʿab)
HM	˥˧	sá	time, clock
MH	˧˥	sǎ	rosemary
LH	˩˥	jǎ	who, sg.
ML	˧˩	*	Not possible
LM	˩˧	*	Not possible

[1]There are two phonetic realizations of monosyllabic words with a L tone, depending on the coda of the syllable. Syllables without a coda as well as syllables in which the coda is a sonorant (m, n, ɲ, ŋ, l, r, w, and y) have a phonetic realization of the L tone, such that the L tone is falling. If the coda is an obstruent, however, the tone is a level L. These low-falling tones fall lower than the lowest normal level of tones in Uduk. This falling tone only affects low tones; mid- and high-toned words do not have any differences depending on the coda shape.

Tone is associated with the syllable in Uduk. As sonorants can be syllabic, they are thus also Tone-Bearing Units (TBUs) in those instances when syllabic. This primarily refers to nasals, but limited instances of /l/, /r/, and glides are also sometimes TBUs. Variation in whether sonorants are TBUs or not suggests that tone is not associated with the segment, as contrasts like *múm̀*, 'friend', with a nasal TBU, and *mún*, 'there', a nasal which is not a TBU, are possible. If tone was segmentally associated, it would not be possible to have a mixed set of nasals in terms of whether they are TBUs or not.

For differentiating between the mora and the syllable, syllable structure again suggests that the syllable is the primary referent. Syllables in Uduk frequently are closed (e.g. CVC), with a variety of consonants allowed in the coda position, including stops. Open and closed syllables do not differ in their tonal melodies possibilities, and contour tones may be found with both CV and CVC structures. As contour tones may be found even with lexemes ending in a plosive, this suggests that it is not the mora but the syllable which tone is associated with.

Although there are three tone levels in Uduk, due to a complex system of consonant-tone restrictions, minimal tonal sets are extremely limited, and do not occur in noun or verb roots alone. Only by including grammatical morphemes can one give a full contrast between all three tone levels, and thus are included in the chart (3.1) for the sake of completeness. Uduk tone-consonant restrictions function in a similar manner to that described in Mundang, in which it is also only grammatical morphemes which give full H-M-L contrasts (Elders 2000).

Basic tone pitches are fairly stable. Tonal measurements of the F_0 from a single male speaker ranged for L from 109-121, for M from 114-144, and for H from 129-179. Average F_0 measurements for the three tone levels may be seen in table 3.2. Syllables with aspirated plosive onsets are frequently slightly lower in their F_0 compared to unaspirated or glottalized.

Table 3.2: Tone Pitch Levels

L	115
M	125.5
H	147.5

3.3 Diachronic Tonal Change and Depressor Consonants

In order to understand the synchronic system of these consonant-tone interactions, it is worth first exploring a diachronic investigation of how the current system of consonant and tone interactions may have come about.

Tonal melodies in Uduk display phonotactic constraints based on the onset consonants associated with the TBU.

These constraints can be summarized as follows:

- No syllable beginning with a voiceless onset occurs with a L tone
  - Vowel-initial roots are included in this category, as they optionally begin with a glottal stop
  - Implosives also are included in this category
- No syllable beginning with a voiced onset occurs with a M tone
- Voiced plosives can only occur with L or LH tones
- Voiced sonorants can occur with L, LH, or H tones, both as syllable onsets with vowels or as syllabic TBUs

This can be summarized in table 3.3, with + marking permissible combinations.

Table 3.3: Consonant and Tone Interaction: First Syllable

Consonant Type	Tones allowed								
	L	M	H	MH	HM	LH	HL	LM	ML
Unaspirated stops		+	+	+[1]	+[2]		+[2]		
Aspirated stops		+	+	+[1]	+[2]		+[2]		
Implosive stops		+	+	+[1]	+[2]		+[2]		
Ejective stops		+	+	+[1]	+[2]		+[2]		
Voiced stops[3]	+					+			
Voiceless Fricatives (s, ʃ, h)	+[2]	+	+	+[2]	+[2]		+[2]		
Nasals	+	+[2]	+		+[2]	+	+[2]		
Sonorants l, r, y, w	+		+		+[2]	+	+[2]		

[1] Primarily occurs in verbal morphology.

[2] Rare.

[3] Voiced stops can also occur with a LHL toneme, but these are extremely rare, occurring mainly in a handful of ideophones, and are not included here in the toneme inventory.

These constraints apply to all monosyllabic words, and to the first syllable of a word for polysyllabic words. Syllabic nasals pattern identically to syllables beginning with nasal consonants in terms of consonant-tone restrictions.

For the second syllable, as well as further syllables, of polysyllabic words, a different list of constraints applies as follows:

- Voiceless unaspirated stops and ejectives do not occur with a L tone
- Voiced plosives do not occur with M or H tones
- Aspirated stops, fricatives, and implosives tend not to occur with L tones
- Sonorants have no restrictions on which tones they may occur with

The depressor consonant effect suggest that Uduk was historically a two-tone language at some point. As all other Koman languages have three tone levels, without a depressor consonant effect, it is entirely possible that Uduk has both lost and then gained a tone level in its history. Further comparative studies would be of great interest in understanding about Uduk's potential tone loss and subsequent tonogenesis.

There are three main classes of sounds in the language in regards to tone-consonant interaction: sonorants, voiced obstruents, and voiceless obstruents.

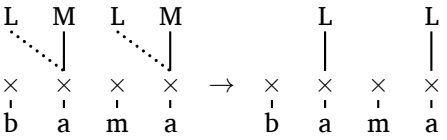
Table 3.4: Consonant and Tone Interaction: Further Syllables

Consonant Type	Tones allowed								
	L	M	H	MH	HM	LH	HL	LM	ML
Unaspirated stops		+	+		+[1]		+[1]		
Aspirated stops	(+)	+	+				+[1]		
Implosive stops	(+)	+	+				+[1]		
Ejective stops		+	+				+[1]		
Voiced stops	+					+	+[1]		
Voiceless Fricatives (s, ʃ, h)	(+)	+	+				+[1]		
Nasals	+	+	+		+[1]	+	+[1]		
Sonorants l, r, y, w	+	+	+		+[1]	+	+[1]		

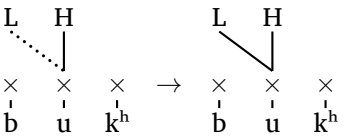
[1] Rare.

Two changes must have occurred at a time in which there were only two tones, one affecting the L, and a second affecting the historical H. In both cases, it is a L insertion which created the change, but the way the language reacted to the L insertion differs in the two instances.

The first change to take place is one which affected historical L, when Uduk was a two-tone language. All low-toned syllables beginning with voiced consonants, including both voiced sonorants and voiced obstruents (e.g. *bà, mà*), lowered their tones further, such that a third tone level appeared, LL (or ˩L). This gave three tone levels: H, L, and the new extra low LL, changing words like *bà, mà* into *bȁ, mȁ*. Words beginning with voiceless obstruents were not affected by this change in any way.

(34)


The second change to occur is more problematic to describe, as it was not absolute, affecting all voiced obstruents and only some voiced sonorants. There is likely an additional factor involved which is as of yet not understood. In this change, all H tones affected had an L-tone insertion. This extra L led to the development of a LH contour (H → LH), e.g. **búk^h* 'to pull out' → *bŭk^h*.

(35)


Synchronic verbal tonal morphology gives fairly clear evidence for these historical tonal changes. Aspect has two forms in Uduk, Perfective and Imperfective, which is marked tonally. The nominal form of the verb, which is also the citation form, invariably has a tone which patterns identically to the Perfective.

To form the Imperfective, a 'reversed' tone of the Perfective is used. Historically, this was possibly a simple H vs. L and L vs. H contrast, but this has taken a number of different synchronic shapes due to consonant influence. The five tone classes may be seen in table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Verb Tone Classes

Class	Base & PFV tone	IPFV tone	Example, PFV	Example, IPFV	English
1	M	H	pʰēt̪'	pʰét̪'	'to laugh'
2	L	LH	gàm	gǎm	'to find, meet'
3	H	M	cépʰ	cēpʰ	'prepare beer'
4	LH	L	lǒl	lòl	'to gather honey'
5	H	L	míʃ	mìʃ	'to see, know'

To further illustrate this, let us look at some examples of verbal morphology and its interaction with tone and consonants. Verbs beginning with voiced plosives are invariably in either class 2 or class 4. For instance, *gàm*, 'to find, meet', is a class 2 verb, with an Imperfective root tone of LH, *gǎm*. The verb *màm*, 'to carry a child', is also a class 2 verb patterning identically to *gàm*, and has an Imperfective form of *mǎm*. Class 4 verbs, which have a LH Perfective form, also include verbs beginning with sonorants in addition to those with voiced plosives.

However, there is an additional complication to the matter, namely that there are plenty of lexemes in the language which begin with voiced sonorants, yet occur with H tones. This includes both verbs and nouns. The verbal morphology again suggests that there is a difference with some sonorants compared to others.

Class 5 verbs occur exclusively with sonorants with a H tone in the root, e.g. *wár*, 'to become angry'. Class 5 verbs pattern in a somewhat similar manner to class 3 verbs, which have voiceless obstruents. However, in class 5 verbs the Imperfective is not M but rather lowered to L. The class 3 verb *pʰár*, 'to see, show', has an Imperfective tonal form of *pʰār*. *Wár* on the other hand has an Imperfective of *wàr*. This variation with sonorants is one of the main pieces of evidence suggesting that tone lowering happened first.

There is one last issue when it comes to the tone-consonant co-occurrences. The phoneme /h/ can be somewhat problematic when it comes to tones, particularly with verb conjugations. Under normal circumstances, /h/ should pattern with the voiceless obstruents, such that M (historical L) → M, and H → H; that is, there were no historical changes affecting either H or M. However, there are some idiosyncratic verbs beginning with /h/ which pattern with sonorants in verb class 5. Most verbs beginning with /h/ fall into class 1 and 3, Perfective H patterns with M in the Imperfective, and Perfective M patterns with Imperfective H. As an example of a class 3 verb, *hát̪'*, 'to eat leaves', is H in the Perfective and changes into *hāt̪'* in the Imperfective. However, there are other verbs like *hét̪'* 'to stretch a limb; to rain', which become *hèt̪'* in the Imperfective, falling into class 5. These irregular-patterning verbs are rare, and generally correspond to voiced sonorants in other dialects of Uduk or other Koman languages; *híl*, 'to look', a class 5 verb, is *yìl* in Komo.

3.4 Tone in Lexical Roots

3.4.1 Nouns

A description of tone in noun roots is relatively simple. Base tones which occur in monosyllabic roots are L, M, H, and LH, with consonant-tone restrictions described in section 3.3; HL, MH, and HM occur in more limited instances, primarily in monosyllabic nouns. The gender of the noun does not affect the tonal melody.

Most lexemes are monosyllabic, with a CVC or CV structure; the presence or absence of a final consonant does not affect the tone of the lexeme, except in the phonetic realization of a L tone.

Polysyllabic nouns do not generally have any restrictions in tonal patterns, but due to the relative rarity of contours other than LH, these are limited in number. Examples of other tonal patterns may be seen in 3.6.

Table 3.6: Polysyllabic Tonal Melodies

Tone	Example	English
H-H	pʰólóŋ	'Pumpkin'
H-M	kákāʃ	'Wooden pillow'
H-L	c'émèn	'Leaf'
H-LH	wárónn̪ǐwícʰ	'Tchagra'
H-HL	céɲc'wâʔ	'Abyssinian Roller'
M-H	ūlmáŋ	'Bruise'
M-M	c'ōlēʔ, à	'Intestines'
M-L	ūrwòʃ, à	'Mountain pool'
M-LH	ālbŭn, à	'Coffee'
M-HL	gŭmāŋkûr	'Type of large pigeon'
L-H	lùpʰéʔ, à	'Reed grass'
L-M	wàʔē, à	'White bean'
L-L	bùlùs	'Gizzard'
L-LH	bùŋgwăr	'body'
L-HM	jùrūʔ	'Boubou'
LH-H	lălúʔ	'Nightjar'
LH-M	jěkāʔ, à	'Peanut'
LH-L	bŭrèʔ	'Bee-eater'
LH-LH	dhŏdhŏdē	'Paradise flycatcher'
LH-HL	wějêw, à	'Bronze Mannikin'
MH-H	ţ̪ăsíʔ	'Red-cheeked Cordonbleu'
HL-LH	c'îlmĭs	'Spur-winged plover'

Tonal patterns in loan words are slightly different compared to general trends in the language. There are two main areas in which differences occur: contour tones which are otherwise rare, and consonant-tone combinations which would not otherwise be possible.

The first group particularly involves MH, HM, and HL contours, of which there are less than 20 native lexemes known occurring with these tonal patterns.

Although there are also limited amounts of Arabic loan words with these contours (approximately 10), this nonetheless makes up a larger percentage of the total amount of loan words, suggesting that these are more common.

Secondly, many loan words occur with tone-consonant combinations which should otherwise not be possible. Voiced plosives can occur with H and M tones, which is otherwise heavily restricted in Uduk. Voiced plosives occurring with H-tones and M-tones frequently alternate with contours, however. For instance, the word *ālbŭn* would have acceptable alternations including *ālbŭm*, *ālbún*, and *ālbúm*. The voicing of the /b/ is often audible, even when it occurs with the H tone. Similarly, *ḍānàs*, 'muslin fabric' has a tonal variation of *ḍănàs*.

3.4.2 Verbs

Verb roots may occur with four possible tonal melodies, L, M, H, or LH, following consonant-tone restrictions described in section 3.3. Unlike with nouns, there are no instances of HL, MH, or HM contours. Only monosyllabic verb roots may occur with all four possible tonal melodies; disyllabic verb roots are more restricted, and have either all L- or M-toned melodies depending on the word-initial onset. The tonal shape is always the same for both syllables in disyllabic verb roots. There are no trisyllabic verb roots.

Uduk uses tonal alternations in the verb root to mark aspect, with two possible forms, the Perfective and the Imperfective. The Perfective form of a finite verb is identical to the lexical tonal melody. The Imperfective is then formed by using the 'reverse' of the tone, predictable given the base tone and the type of consonant found in the syllable onset. As sonorants can be associated with H as well as LH tones, this gives us 5 possible tone classes, seen in table 3.7.

Table 3.7: Verb Tone Classes, repeated

Class	Base & PFV tone	IPFV tone	Example, PFV	Example, IPFV	English
1	M	H	pʰēẗ'	pʰéẗ'	'to laugh'
2	L	LH	gàm	găm	'to find, meet'
3	H	M	cépʰ	cēpʰ	'prepare beer'
4	LH	L	lŏl	lòl	'to gather honey'
5	H	L	míʃ	mìʃ	'to see, know'

Disyllabic verb roots invariably occur with either all L-toned syllables or all M-toned syllables, depending on the word-initial onset. These pattern similarly to monosyllabic tone classes 1 and 2, with one slight change. The Imperfective tonal shape of verbs with the L-L tone pattern is LH-H rather than LH-LH; that is, the tone of the second syllable is a level H rather than a contour. In situations in which this would result in a depressor consonant associated with a H tone, this triggers a change in the pronunciation of the consonant. As an example, the verb *wùgùr* 'to wobble' becomes *wŭkúr* in the Imperfective.

Table 3.8: Disyllabic Verb Roots

Class	Base & PFV tone	IPFV tone	Example, PFV	Example, IPFV	English
1	M-M	H-H	ţēnţēm	ţénţém	'to melt'
2	L-L	LH-H	màlàs	mălás	'to persuade, distract'

3.4.3 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs are a subclass of verbs which are structured somewhat differently compared to other verb forms. They do not use tonal alternations on the verb root, and they furthermore do not mark person-number concord through suffixes.

Instead, they follow a reduplication pattern, $root_1$-*á* $root_2$. The tone of $root_2$ is always L or M, depending on the initial consonant[2]. For monosyllabic roots, this gives four possible tonal melodies: H-H-M, M-H-M, L-H-L, and LH-H-L. Disyllabic stative verbs pattern similarly to active verbs in that they only occur with either all L-tones or all M-tones, giving only two possible tonal melodies, LL-H-LL and MM-H-MM.

Examples may be seen below in table 3.9.

Table 3.9: Stative verb tonal patterns

Tone Pattern	Uduk	English
Monosyllabic Roots		
H-H M	cwác^h-á-cwāc^h	Stiff, bristly
M-H-M	cā-á-cā	Big
L-H-L	dìt^h-á-dìt^h	Heavy
LH-H-L	dĕk^h-á-dèk^h	Thick, sticky (of liquid)
Disyllabic Roots		
MM-H-MM	k̲ūlūl-á-k̲ūlūl	Bent, crooked
LL-H-LL	d̲èlèl-á-d̲èlèl	Clean

3.4.4 Other Tonal Patterns

Nouns and verbs occupy the vast majority of word classes in Uduk, but there are additional smaller classes of words, such as particles and ideophones. Particles (including polar words like yes and no) and ideophones are non-inflecting words which do not behave in the same manner as nouns and verbs in terms of tonal restrictions. The sibilant /s/ for instance, cannot occur with a L tone under normal circumstances, but *sà?* is a clausal interrogative particle which goes against the rule. The word *c^{h}wà* (variants include *c^{h}àh* and *c^{h}wàh*) is used for an emphatic denial, and also goes against the normal tonal rule restrictions.

[2]Although many stative verbs share their verb roots with active verbs, the factors governing the tone of $root_1$ compared to active roots are as of yet unclear.

3.5 Leftward Realignment

Before an introduction of tonal interactions in morphology can take place, there remains one important factor to introduce, namely what is called here the leftward realignment. There are a number of prefixes and particles, which, if the opportunity arises, move leftwards, phonologically attaching onto the previous word. This applies only to certain valid morphological hosts, typically nouns or verbs.

Consider an Associative construction of the following two words, *à ōm*, 'egg', and *à ŋwá*, 'hen', with the meaning of a chicken egg. Associative constructions work similarly to compounds, in that it is formed by a simple juxtaposition of the two lexemes, with one additional exception: the Class II prefix marker is raised from L to M on the second noun.

à = ōm à = ŋwá

↓

à = ōm ā = ŋwá

However, this is further complicated by a phonological reshuffling in which the prefix of hen detaches itself, reattaching to the syllable directly preceding it.

à = ōm ā = ŋwá

à = ōm ā = ŋwá

↓

à = ōm = ā ŋwá

A list of known markers which reattach leftwards may be seen in table 3.10. As the original category is difficult to know for certain in some instances, this label should be viewed as tentative.

Table 3.10: Leftward-realigning grammatical markers

Uduk	Original category	English
í	preposition	'in, at, on'
á	preposition	'in, at, on', Class II
ā =	proclitic	Ergative case marker, Class I
mā =	proclitic	Ergative case marker, Class II
ā =	proclitic	Accusative case marker, Class II
ā =	proclitic	Associative case marker, Class II
mā =	proclitic	Genitive case marker, Class II
ā =	proclitic	Identification marker, predicative demonstratives
ì [1]	particle	Same-subject verb linker

[1] The status of *ì* is somewhat uncertain, and requires further investigation.

Phonologically, this rule results in a change in pronunciation for word-final glottalized consonants, vowel harmony participation in Yabus Uduk, and a participation in a tone rule discussed further in section 3.6.2. Additionally, *í* and *ì* change their quality to match any vowel which directly precedes them.

Leftward realignment uses a mixture of phonological and morphosyntactic criteria, in its choice of markers as well as hosts. Table 3.10 shows that the number of markers which move leftward is limited. Case markers in particular show some inconsistencies in terms of movement, as for example the Class I Genitive marker *gì* does not resyllabify leftwards, but the Class II Genitive marker *mā* does.

The potential host of the markers also varies somewhat, depending on the individual marker. Ergative and Accusative case markers may only attach to verbs. The prepositions *í* and *á* may attach to verbs, other prepositions, and some nouns, particularly nominal locators. The Class II Genitive case marker, the Associative case marker, and the Identification marker may attach only to nouns.

To illustrate the concept further, I present some examples with verbal demonstratives. Predicative demonstratives are verb-like deictic devices used to present or identify nominal participants, which may occur with or without overt verbal predication. The verbal demonstrative occurs with the grammatical marker *ā*, which may be on its own as well as cliticized to the noun it identifies. When cliticized, it follows the tone rule discussed in section 3.6.2, in that it is low-toned after an immediately preceding low tone, and mid-toned after anything else.

The following two examples are taken from a text (C.10 in the Appendix) in which the narrator is explaining how to construct a house.

(36)

bà	*bwày*	*gì*	*nyàŋ-ù*	*gù'b*	*à*	*'dáhān*[3]
bà	bwày	gì	ɲàŋ-ù	gùɓ	à	ɗáhān
so	way	GEN.REL	build:IPFV-IMPRS	house	IDENT	DEM

'So this is the way in which a house is built,'

(37)

áw̄	*bwày*	*gì*	*t̪él-ù*	*mí*	*'pén*	*wàthí?*	*kí*
áw̄	bwày	gì	tʰél-ù	mí	p'én	wàt̪í?	kí
or	way	GEN.REL	start:PFV-IMPRS	do	behind.PART	man	NARR

tā	*gì*	*gù'b*	*pí'dī*	*ā*	*'dáhān*
tā	gì	gùɓ	pí'dī	ā	ɗáhān
COP	PP.CL1	house	POSS.3SG	IDENT	DEM

'or this is the way how a person begins to have a home of their own.'

[3]Demonstratives show very high levels of fine-grained distinctions, and adding all the details of each form is out of the scope of this chapter. For more information on the different forms of demonstratives, see Chapter 7.

From these examples it is challenging to know whether the underlying tone of the identification marker is mid or low. Consider the next example, however.

(38) *dhàlì ā ’dán jìn mì-n mà mómǎk̲*
ḍàlì ā ɗán jìn mì-n mà mómǎkʰ
and:CL1 IDENT DEM REL.SG do:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 fox

‘and this was what the fox did.’

Here, we have a situation in which the identification marker does follow a L tone, and yet is M. If this was a purely phonological rule, then *ā* should always be low after low. However, semantically, the identification is not referring to the word *ḍàlì*, ‘and’. It is rather associated with the relative clause immediately following the demonstrative. In this situation, then, it remains as a free morpheme, and the default tone appears to be M, not L. There are examples like example (38), in which the morpheme is M-toned following a L, but there is no instance of a L-toned identifier marker after a M or H tone. This leads us to the conclusion that there is a greater phonological connection between house and the identifier in *gùɓ à ɗáhān* compared with *ḍàlì ā ɗáhān*. This conclusion is borne out with careful speech; Uduk speakers will pronounce *gùɓà* as a single word, and *ḍàlì ā* as two.

Realignment leftwards has consequences with more than just phonology, even serving as evidence for the existence of the Accusative and Associative cases, which are marked only by tone changes on the Class II marker.

The Accusative case is only found with Class II objects which directly follow the verb. The case marker is L when following a L tone, and M in all other situations.

(39) *únī gǎm-án ā císh*
únī gǎm-án ā cíʃ
3PL find:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 gazelle

‘They have found the gazelle.’

(40) *únī gàm-àn à císh*
únī gàm-àn à cíʃ
3PL find:PFV-3PL ACC.CL2 gazelle

‘They have found the gazelle.’

Unlike the identification morpheme, however, it is not possible to rearrange the order or place other words in between the verb and the object, and thus is more challenging to discern what the underlying tone would be. The tone of the Class II marker preverbally (e.g. in Absolutive case) and in citation form is L, *à cíʃ* ‘gazelle’.

If the base tone would be L also in the Object position, changing to M after anything other than L, then there would be no Accusative case, the change being purely a phonological phenomenon.

If the base tone is M, and it changes to L after L, then this means that the tone of the Class II marker is already M, and in fact must have already changed from low to mid even before the phonological rule lowering it back down would be applied.

The tone rule mentioned above affects more than a dozen morphemes, more than just with leftwards-aligning markers; the behavior of the identification marker, one of few morphemes which can occur on its own as well as cliticized, suggests that the rule is a base tone of M lowering to L rather than L raising to M, giving us the following rule ordering.

Citation form à cíʃ
Accusative case únī gàmàn ā=cíʃ
Leftward restructuring únī gàmàn ā=cíʃ
Leftward restructuring únī gàmàn=ā cíʃ
Tone rule applied únī gàmàn=à cíʃ

This presents a challenge, then, as we have a situation where a nominal case form is phonologically attaching to a verb, despite not being verbal morphology. Grammatical words and phonological words do not necessarily line up in Uduk, and are bracketed differently.

Grammatical Word [únī gàmàn] [ā=cíʃ]
Phonological Word [únī gàmàn=à] [cíʃ]

This mismatch is challenging to express in writing, so all leftwards-realigning markers will for the most part be written in this work as independent morphemes. This is partially to avoid bracketing confusion, but this is also partially due to the fact that not all grammatical forms behave in a consistent way. The Class I Genitive marker *gì* never changes its tone, invariably staying low. The Class II Genitive marker *mā*, however, cliticizes to the previous word, changing tones when applicable. Writing both markers as independent morphemes preserves a grammatical consistency even though it sacrifices phonological faithfulness.

3.6 Tonal Interactions in Morphology

This section focuses on the morphotonology of Uduk, or the situations in which tonal assignment to a TBU is sensitive to the morphological category of the lexeme. This includes person-number agreement marking on verbs, tone lowering for nominal and verbal suffixes and enclitics in the presence of a low tone, and nominal modifiers which mark number with H-tone insertion.

3.6.1 Tone in Agreement Marking

Uduk verb forms mark concord with independently expressed nouns and pronouns in the preverbal position of a clause through suffixes on the verb. 1SG and 1PE always use the same marker, a H-toned *-á*; 1PI is marked by a L-toned *-à*.

Table 3.11: Imperfective Tonal Affixes

-´	1SG	-´	1PE
		-`	1PI
-´	2SG	-´	2PL
-´	3SG	-´	3PL

For 2nd and 3rd person agreement markers, however, their tonal shape is additionally dependent on the aspect of the construction. In the Imperfective form of a verb, the tone of the agreement marker is always H-toned.

Table 3.12: Perfective Tonal Affixes

-´	1SG	-´	1PE
		-`	1PI
Tone copy	2SG	Tone copy	2PL
Tone copy	3SG	Tone copy	3PL

In the Perfective form of a verb, 2nd and 3rd person agreement suffixes copy the immediately preceding tone . If the tone is a contour, only the final section of the tone is copied (e.g. with a LH contour in the root, the tonal affix is H, not LH).

3.6.2 Tone Lowering

Most morphotonology in Uduk is focused around a single rule which applies to a number of affixes and clitics for nouns and verbs. This rule may be summarized as follows:

If the final tone of a stem is L, and a M-toned suffix or enclitic is placed directly after this L tone, the tone of the suffix or clitic lowers from M to L.

A list of known tone-lowering morphemes may be seen in table 3.13.

Examples of each type are addressed in the subsections below.

3.6.2.1 Imperative

The Imperative is formed by adding *-ī* to the non-finite form of a verb. This is a M-toned affix which is affected by the tone-lowering rule and lowers to L when the tone of the element preceding it is L.

Table 3.13: Tone Lowering grammatical markers

Uduk	English
Suffixes	
-ī	Imperative
-kāʔ	Ergative 1SG marker
Enclitics	
=ā	Individuative
Leftward-realigning enclitics	
ā	Identification marker
ā	Ergative case marker, Class I
mā	Ergative case marker, Class II
ā	Accusative case marker, Class II
ā	Associative case marker, Class II
mā	Genitive case marker, Class II

(41) *c̱ík-ī*
c^{h}ík-ī
listen-IMP

'Listen!'

(42) *bǎth-ī*
bǎṯ-ī
follow-IMP

'Follow!'

(43) *dhùth-ì*
ḏ̤ùṯ-ì
sweep-IMP

'Sweep!'

3.6.2.2 Individuative

Uduk does not morphologically mark number on nouns in any regular fashion. However, there are two enclitics which are used when nouns are directly modified by numerals, the Individuative and Collective. The Individuative is marked with the enclitic *=ā*, which occurs at the end of an NP; similarly, the Collective *=í* also occurs at the end of the NP.

The Individuative is used with low, easily countable amounts, or indicating a portion out of a larger amount. It lowers to L when directly following a L tone.

(44) *ūp̲ = ā* *sú?*
ūp̲^{h} = ā sú?
women = INDV two

'two women'

(45) *gù'b = à* *sú?*
gùɓ = à sú?
house = INDV two

'two houses'

3.6.2.3 Identification

The identification marker *ā* is used in combination with certain types of demonstratives in a verb-like construction to present or identify a nominal referent. It lowers to L when cliticized to a word ending in a L tone.

(46) *tō* *ā* *'dán* *jìn* *mǐ-'d* *kā* *cím* *jìn*
tō ā ɗán jìn mǐ-ɗ kā cím jìn
thing IDENT DEM REL.SG do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-3SG with.CL2 day REL.SG
pī-nù *'pénî* *Pāsūdân*
pī-nù p'énî Pāsūdân
leave:IPFV-IMPRS from:CL1 Sudan

'so this is what happened during the time that (people) fled from Sudan.'

(47) *dhàlì* *ūshí* *gò* *à* *nán* *kūn* *ŋàp̲-kà* *ó*
ḍ̤àlì ūʃí gò à nán kūn ŋàp̲^{h}-kà ó
and DIM.CL1:PL word IDENT DEM.PL REL.PL want:IPFV-ERG.1SG say

'and these are the words that I wanted to tell.'

3.6.2.4 Genitive

The Genitive case is used to show nominal possession, with two different forms depending on the grammatical gender of the possessor. For Class I possessors, the construction is formed $N_{possessed}$ gì $N_{possessor}$. For Class II nouns, it is formed $N_{possessed}$ mā $N_{possessor}$. Class I Genitive markers occur as a separate particle, but Class II Genitive markers realign leftwards, lowering their tones from M to L when directly following a L tone.

(48) *à nós mā ʼbóm*
à nós mā ɓóm
CL2 pot GEN.CL2 woman

'The woman's pot'

(49) *mì mà ʼbóm*
mì mà ɓóm
goat GEN.CL2 woman

'The woman's goat'

Genitive constructions with a Class I possessor are unaffected by the preceding tone.

(50) *à nós gì wàthí?*
à nós gì wàṭí?
CL2 pot GEN.CL1 man

'The man's pot'

(51) *mì gì wàthí?*
mì gì wàṭ̈í?
goat GEN.CL1 man

'The man's goat'

3.6.2.5 Associative

Associative constructions are similar to Genitive constructions in that they indicate a relationship of some kind between two nouns. However, the relationship is less focused on ownership, and the meaning can be somewhat more unpredictable. It is formed by juxtaposing the two nouns.

With Class I nouns, there are no intervening grammatical markers, or changes in tonal melodies on either word.

(52) *gùʼb ʼdī*
gùɓ dī
house bird

'Bird nest'

If the second noun is Class II, the Associative case marker *ā* is used. It lowers to L when directly following a L tone.

(53) *à ōm ā ŋwá*
à ōm ā ŋwá
CL2 egg ASS.CL2 chicken

'Chicken egg'

(54) *gù'b à hābûs*
gùɓ à hābûs
house ASS.CL2 jail

'Jail building'

3.6.2.6 Accusative

The Accusative case is used in A-Voice transitive constructions to mark the O argument of a predicate. Overt case marking occurs only with Class II objects, which use the case marker *ā*. The Accusative marker is a leftwards-aligning marker, which then lowers its tone from M to L when directly following a L tone. This may occur with the 1PI suffix *-à* on the verb, or with 2nd and 3rd person forms in the Perfective.

The verb *gàm*, 'to find', is a class 2 verb, with an Imperfective tone of LH. 2nd and 3rd person agreement markers use a H-toned suffix in the Imperfective, and a tonal copy of the verb stem for the Perfective.

(55) *é gǎm-án ā 'cí*
é gǎm-án ā c'í
2SG find:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 child

'You have found the child.'

(56) *é gàm-àn à 'cí*
é gàm-àn à c'í
2SG find:PFV-2SG ACC.CL2 child

'You have found the child.'

(57) *únī gǎm-án ā 'cí*
únī gǎm-án ā c'í
3PL find:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 child

'They have found the child.'

(58) *únī gàm-àn à 'cí*
únī gàm-àn à c'í
3PL find:PFV-3PL ACC.CL2 child

'They have found the child.'

(59) *á'dī gǎm-á'd ā 'cí*
ádī gǎm-áɗ ā c'í
3SG find:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 child

'S/he has found the child.'

(60) *á'dī gàm-à'd à 'cí*
ádī gàm-àɗ à c'í
3SG find:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 child

'S/he has found the child.'

When the Accusative case combines with the 1PI agreement marker, the two L-toned markers phonologically combine into a single portmanteau form, which is nonetheless written as two separate forms for the sake of consistency.

(61) *ánā gǎm-à à 'cí*
ánā gǎm-à à c'í
1PI find:IPFV-1PI ACC.CL2 child

'We (inclusive) have found the child.'

(62) *ánā gàm-à à 'cí*
ánā gàm-à à c'í
1PI find:PFV-1PI ACC.CL2 child

'We (inclusive) have found the child.'

3.6.2.7 Ergative

The Ergative case is used in O-Voice transitive constructions to mark the A argument of a predicate. There are two case markers depending on the gender of the argument; Class I arguments use *ā*[4], and Class II arguments use *mā*. Both case marker forms are the leftwards-realigning type, which then lower their tones from M to L when following a L tone.

[4]Note that this *ā* here refers to Class I, not Class II, unlike the Associative and Accusative.

Additionally, any verb ending in a vowel adds a toneless nasal *-n* to the end of the verb. As there is no agreement marking, there are more situations in which the Ergative case is lowered compared with the Accusative, namely with the Perfective form of class 2 verbs, as well as the Imperfective of classes 4 and 5.

The following examples again use the verb *gàm* 'to find', with both the Perfective and Imperfective aspects, and both classes of arguments.

(63) *shūm gǎm ā wàthíʔ*
ʃūm gǎm ā wàt̪íʔ
meat find:IPFV ERG.CL1 man

'The man has found the meat.'

(64) *shūm gàm à wàthíʔ*
ʃūm gàm à wàt̪íʔ
meat find:PFV ERG.CL1 man

'The man has found the meat.'

(65) *shūm gǎm mā ʼbóm*
ʃūm gǎm mā ɓóm
meat find:IPFV ERG.CL2 woman

'The woman has found the meat.'

(66) *shūm gàm mà ʼbóm*
ʃūm gàm mà ɓóm
meat find:PFV ERG.CL2 woman

'The woman has found the meat.'

Ergative constructions with pronominal A arguments for the most part treat them as if they were Class I nouns. However, there is also a suppletive form for 1SG, an anaphoric suffix *-kāʔ*, which also falls under the providence of the tone rule. As in other instances, the affix is M-toned in all instances except which the root is L, in which case the affix also lowers. This is one of very few instances in which a voiceless plosive may occur with a L tone.

(67) *shūm gǎm-kāʔ*
ʃūm gǎm-kāʔ
meat find:IPFV-ERG.1SG

'I have found the meat.'

(68) *shūm gàm-kà?*
ʃūm gàm-kà?
meat find:PFV-ERG.1SG

'I have found the meat.'

3.6.3 Number-marking through tone

There are a handful of nominal modifiers, seen in table 3.14, which have number-marking alternations through H-tone insertion. If the base tone of the root is M, the H tone replaces it; if it is L, however, then it becomes a LH contour tone. Disyllabic words then additionally lower the tone of the second syllable to M when following H or LH.

These modifiers are lexically nominal; they all have inherent gender, and they all may function as the head of an NP. They primarily occur attributively in Associative constructions, however, despite their lexical class.

Table 3.14: Tone-changing Plural Forms

Singular	Plural	Gloss
Class I		
ḍàn	ḍǎn	great, old
kūmán	kúmān	female
cōm	cóm	owner; father
kūm	kúm	owner; mother
Class II		
à rìs	à rǐs	many
à ràsán	rǎsān; gwǎṭ^{h}ān	male
à mòr	mǒr	neutered

(69) *dhàn à 'tḯk wú-'d mò*
ḍàn à t'ík^{h} wú-ɗ mò
large.SG ASS.CL2 rat die:PFV-3SG MO

'The big rat died.'

(70) *dhǎn ā 'tḯk wú-n mò*
ḍǎn ā t'ík^{h} wú-n mò
large.PL ASS.CL2 rat die:PFV-3PL MO

'The big rats died.'

Chapter 4

Nominal Morphology and Phrase Structure

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the basic shape and structure of nouns, as well as grammatical elements associated with nominal morphology. Nouns are a lexical class which function syntactically as the heads of Noun Phrases (NPs), and can be modified by adjectives, demonstratives, and possessive pronouns. They fill basic arguments in the VP (S, A, and O), and all nouns fall into one of two genders, triggering agreement patterns and case marking variations depending on the gender. Nouns do not generally distinguish between count and mass nouns, and quantifiers such as *à rìs* 'much, many' can modify both.

There are few affixes or clitics which apply directly to nouns. Number and definiteness are not morphologically marked, and most case markers are either independent morphemes or else cliticize to the previous element in the clause. One prefix which does partly mark number is the Associative plural *ī-*, found primarily on personal names as well as some kinship terms. The proclitic *à=* marks Class II gender (otherwise written separately in this work), but this is not always expressed. There are two clitics which attach to the end of an NP when modified by a numeral, which may or may not be the noun itself.

This chapter proceeds as follows.

After the introduction, the first section presented involves number marking strategies and related morphological markers. Number itself is not morphologically marked on nouns, and most nouns may be categorized as *transnumeral*. This refers to the idea that they do not have an inherent singular or plural encoding; their interpretation instead depends on context. An absence of plural marking is common cross-linguistically, but rare within Nilo-Saharan, which most commonly has some type of complex tripartite number-marking system.

One morpheme which does express overtly-marked number is the Associative plural, marking an individual and those associated with that individual. This

morpheme occurs with personal names and some kinship terms. A subset of nouns in Uduk also use lexical suppletion to mark number. These nouns primarily refer to humans, such as kinship terms or professions.

The second section addressed involves the gender system of Uduk: all nouns in Uduk belong to one of two genders. Uduk's grammatical gender system does not stem from a sex- or animacy-based semantic distinction, and gender assignment appears to be largely arbitrary. Noun classes are common across Africa in general, but rare within Nilo-Saharan; only Kadu languages and Eastern Nilotic languages have displayed any sort of gender-marking system, which typically are at least somewhat more semantically transparent than in Uduk. Inside Koman, grammatical gender was not noticed by earlier scholars, but recent research suggests that Gwama has a two way gender system which works similarly to Uduk (Anne-Christie Hellenthal, p.c.). A recent publication on Komo suggests that Komo may use cognate markers for number and information structure rather than differentiating lexical divisions in nouns. For more details, see Otero (2015c).

Tied in with gender-marking strategies we find case, the next topic addressed in this chapter. Uduk displays a fascinating case marking system which is intricately linked with information structure and word order. Case marking parallels other ergative and marked nominative languages in the area in many respects, and it is not necessarily easy to put into currently existing typological categories. Morphologically marked cases for core arguments include Accusative and Ergative; cases for extended uses include Genitive and Associative.

After case marking, nominal derivation and compounding is discussed. Morphology to derive nouns is limited to a handful of prefixes and suffixes.

The final section of this chapter focuses on nominal constituents at the phrase level. This includes modifier ordering inside the NP, prepositional phrases, and relational noun phrases.

4.2 Number marking

4.2.1 Introduction

Number marking in Uduk is generally a property of phrases rather than being marked directly on nouns. In the noun phrase, number-marking alternations exist with some types of modifiers and demonstratives. In the verb phrase, number is marked through suppletive lexemes and person-number agreement marking. Number marking in Uduk should thus be seen as a 'non-canonical' strategy, following Corbett (2000).

Uduk nouns, however, are not inherently coded for number, and could be described as having a general or 'transnumeral' form, which may have a singular or plural interpretation depending on context.

A smaller subset of nouns mostly relating to humans or livestock do have distinct singular and plural forms, found in table 4.2.

Table 4.1: Transnumeral Nouns

Uduk	English	Uduk	English
cwá	tree(s)	à bǐ	upper arm(s), wing(s)
à mè	spear(s)	à gǔrūsh	money(s)
gù'b	house(s)	nǎwāl	adze(s)
'pīny	white ash(es)	à c̲ōnyc̲ōm	hedgehog(s)
bìp̲	cow(s)	à dhǔgà?	bean(s)
mà	food(s)	à nós	pot(s)

Nouns which take the prefix *ī-* primarily refer to the Associative Plural (AP), referring to the individual referenced and others associated with this individual, discussed further in section 4.2.2 below. Most kinship terms appear to be able to use the AP.

Table 4.2: Nouns encoded for number

Singular	Plural	English
mì	mìyà	goat
à 'cí	ūc̲í	child
wàthí?	'kwāní	man
à 'bóm	ūp̲	woman
à múgù	ī-múgù	friend
à màn...	ī-màn...	agentive nominalizer
kūm	(ī)-kúm	his, her mother
cōm	(ī)-cóm	his, her father
à kām	(ī)-kám	brother
à *Name*	ī-*Name*	used for personal names

Aside from these nouns, number is most commonly expressed through verbal suffixes, as seen in examples (71) and (72) below.

(71) *à nyáw ūr-ú'd ā 'tík̲*
CL2 cat chase:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 rat

'The cat chased the rat.'

(72) *à nyáw ūr-ún ā 'tík̲*
CL2 cat chase:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 rat

'The cats chased the rat.'

This is similar to Maba, in that in the absence of number marking on nouns that function as the subject of the verb, agreement on the verb helps to interpret number (Weiss 2014, p 107, as cited in Dimmendaal 2014). This also parallels Dimmendaal (2000)'s comments on Ngiti, that although most Nigiti nouns do not have separate singular or plural forms, "pluractional marking on the verb,

expressing plurality or multiplicity of the verb's action, has the same effect" (Dimmendaal 2000, p. 256). Unlike Ngiti, however, agreement marking on the verb in Uduk expresses only person-number concord and NOT multiplicity of a verb's action, pluractionality being instead marked through AD markers on the verb (see section 8.5 for details).

Despite this difference, Uduk does seem to follow other number-marking strategies employed by languages with pluractionality. In his 2014 work, Dimmendaal suggests that languages with pluractional marking frequently have more than one strategy for marking number, with varying degrees of productivity (Dimmendaal 2014). Uduk shows at least five strategies for number marking: agreement marking on the verb, lexical suppletion for a small subset of nouns, lexical suppletion for a small subset of verbs (described in more detail in section 8.3), modifiers which can mark plurality (described in more detail in section 6.2), and demonstratives which mark plurality (described in more detail in chapter 7). Additionally, Uduk makes use of a more fine-grained distinction in plurality in some instances at the clause level, namely a small, paucal plural contrasting with a greater, multal plural (described in more detail in section 8.7).

4.2.2 Associative Plural

Although number is not morphologically marked on most nouns, there is nonetheless one prefix which does express a type of number, the Associative Plural *ī-*. Following Corbett (2000), it 'denote(s) a set comprised of the referent of the nominal (the main member) plus one or more associated members'.

The AP has restrictions in its use, and may only generally occur with nouns highest on the animacy scale. It is particularly common with proper names, to refer to the individual plus those associated with that individual, such as one's family. Most kinship terms also may occur with the AP. Pronouns do not occur with the AP.

If a noun is marked with the AP, this invariably puts it in Class I gender, whether the original form was Class I or Class II. Note that personal names are always Class II.

(73) *wòr yán tā mò gì í-n ā*
river DEM.PROX COP:PFV place GEN.REL GO.PL:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1
ī-Mísā ḿmò wús tō kā yémpā
AP-Misa GER wash thing with.CL2 always

'This river is where Misa and the others always go to wash (their clothes).'
(Uduk Primer 1965)

(74) *ī-Mísā gǎm-án ā wǔ í yàn wòr únī*
AP-Misa find:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 wild.dog LOC.CL1 near river 3PL
kí sō mò
NARR run.PL MO

'Misa and his friends found a wild dog near the river and they ran away.'
(Uduk Primer 1965)

(75) *ī-kám mā Mísā í-n ì wó ā cīlé*
AP-brother.PL GEN.CL2 Misa go.PL:IPFV-3PL LNK pick ACC.CL2 bean
mā Mísā mò
GEN.CL2 Misa MO

'Misa's brothers went to collect his beans.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

4.2.3 Individuative and Collective

There are two clitics related to number, the Individuative *=ā* and the Collective *=í*. They primarily show up when nouns are directly modified by numerals, and they occur on the last element of the NP before the numeral.

(76) *mìyà-m bǔm=í múdhèd gwǎnsān tú'c áhā*
goat-ASS POSS.2PL=COLL five DEM.PL annoy:PFV 1SG
'kús
throat.PART

'These five goats of yours are bothering me.'

(77) *mìyà-m bǔm gwǎnsān=í múdhèd tú'c áhā 'kús*
goat-ASS POSS.2PL DEM.PL=COLL five annoy:PFV 1SG throat.PART

'These five goats of yours are bothering me.'

The analysis is still preliminary, but in general, the Individuative is used when the number is low and easily countable. It also may indicates a portion out of a larger amount, or a part of a whole. It only occurs with small numbers, primarily one and two, but sometimes three.

(78) *wàthí yǎ-'d kā 'bóm=ā 'de*
man go.SG:IPFV-3SG with.CL2 woman=INDV one

'The man is walking with one woman.'

(79) *áā tā-ná kā ārɨ́ gò lòlo̱p à ’dé? ’pénɨ́*
1SG COP:IPFV-1SG with.CL2 DIM:CL1 story INDV one from:CL1
zàmɨ̀ tāntānɨ́
long.ago PHM

‘I have a small story of long ago.’

(80) *kí*[1] *yìl=à sú? kūn thīm-kí-n mò tānɨ́ Ṯīlîs*
COMP year=INDV two REL.PL finish:IPFV-AD2-3PL MO PHM Felix
gàr mà Ṯūrkīyúús Ṯāsṯúùs ɨ́ ēmbŭl pí’dī
substitute:PFV ERG.CL2 Porcius Festus LOC.CL1 place POSS.3SG
mò
MO

‘After two years, Porcius Festus came into Felix’ room.’
(SIM Bible, Acts 24:27)

The Collective is generally used to refer to larger amounts, or amounts in their entirety. The view of number is qualitative rather than quantitative, and there is no precise cut off in which the amount shifts from the Individuative to the Collective. It is generally required with numbers above ten, however.

(81) *áhā dɨ̌-ná Pāŋgàlé? mè’d=ɨ́ dòŋgòn*
1SG exist.SG:IPFV-1SG Ethiopia time=COLL four

‘I have been in Ethiopia 4 times.’

(82) *dhàlì kí á’dī ’kó-n ā yìl=ɨ́ ’kúmè’d ī ’cē’dkā sú?*
and COMP 3SG exist.PL-3PL ERG.CL1 year=COLL twelve
mò tānɨ́ únī ɨ́-kí-n mò
MO PHM 3PL go.PL:PFV-AD2-3PL MO

‘And when he was twelve years old, they went.’
(SIM Bible, Luke 2:42)

Unlike the Individuative, the Collective does sometimes appear with smaller numbers. It is possible that the Collective has some ties to pluractionality, but this requires further investigation.

[1]The transcription used here is not the same as used in the official version of the bible; tones have been added, and the spelling of some words has been normalized.

(83) *'kwāní sūs-ín ā 'bom=í 'dé*
people follow:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 woman=COLL one

'The people followed one woman.'

Although it is possible for numbers to modify nouns directly, clauses with the plural existential verb *'kó* are frequently used instead to express amounts. These generally occur with the Collective.

(84) *à gùrùsh 'kó-n=í īs sú?*
CL2 money exist.PL:PFV-3PL=COLL forty

'The money amounts to 40.'

(85) *únī kí ḳál súm ī pūr mò únī kā múñké?*
3PL NARR carry python SER roast MO 3PL with.CL2 other
'kó-n=í sú?
exist.PL:PFV-3PL=COLL two

'He and another guy, the two of them then carried the python to roast it.'

(86) *dhàlì únī bŭ'th-kí 'dōlkōn kúsh kūn 'kó-n=í*
and 3PL take:IPFV-AD2 gold white REL.PL exist.PL:PFV-3PL=COLL
īs 'dé? ī'cē'dkā 'kúmè'd mò
thirty MO

'And they took the thirty pieces of silver.' (SIM Bible, Matthew 27:9)

4.3 Gender

Gender refers to a noun classification strategy in which nouns are lexically encoded as belonging to a particular class, which is then further reflected in agreement in some way (Corbett 1991). That is, the exponence of the gender must appear outside of the marking on the noun itself.

All nouns in Uduk, including proper nouns, are allocated into one of two possible grammatical genders, labelled as *Class I* and *Class II*. Grammatical gender is not based on biological sex, and assignment into these classes is largely arbitrary. Semantics in fact appears to play almost no role in the choice of which gender a noun is placed in, even with a small semantic group related to humans or animate nouns. Thus, Uduk is an exception to the statement "...all

systems of noun class assignment are mixed, since there is always a semantic core" (Aikhenvald 2003, p. 22).

There are a few limited situations in which gender class assignment may be predicted. All proper names fall into the Class II gender, although overt marking is optional in citation form. Nouns marked with the Associative Plural *ī-*, however, are assigned to Class I; this includes proper names. Most other suppletive plural nouns are also assigned to Class I. New words borrowed into the language from Arabic are often placed into Class II (probably due to phonological consideration), but exceptions do occur. Nominalizations of Stative verbs which take the *-gà?* suffix invariably are in Class II, as are words with the derivational morpheme *màn,* which forms agentive nouns.

Gender distinctions are indicated primarily on the noun itself as well as targets in the VP[2]; case markers also show variation depending on the gender. Agreement is not found with most elements of the NP, such as adnominal modifiers.

In summary, nouns show agreement with the following classes of words:

- Verbs
- Prepositions
- Conjunctions
- Complementizers
- Some prenominal modifiers, in limited instances

Gender agreement does not affect:

- Numerals
- Color terms
- Adnominal demonstratives
- Personal pronouns
- Possessive pronouns
- Relative pronouns

It is worth exploring the use of gender marking in Uduk in more detail. In Dahl (2004), he mentions that "a frequently mentioned possible function is that of reference tracking [...] However, reference tracking does not explain the use of gender e.g. in NP-internal agreement, and it may also be questioned how frequently disambiguation of the kind illustrated occurs in natural texts. [...] Likewise, given that animate and inanimate NPs tend to show up in distinct syntactic positions, a referential ambiguity between two referents that differ in animacy is unlikely, and the not infrequent systems where there are only two pronominal genders — animate and inanimate — would add little to the efficiency of reference tracking. But reference tracking may be of greater importance in a language where other grammatical marking is scarce... and can probably be seen as one of several functions of grammatical gender that are all part of a larger scheme of redundancy management" (Dahl 2004, p. 202).

[2]Following Corbett's (2006) terminology, forms which must agree with a particular noun are labelled as targets, whereas the nouns which cause or trigger the agreement patterns are called the controller.

In Uduk, NP-internal agreement does not play a role, and semantic roles such as animacy are not a factor in gender assignment. Constituent order frequently changes based on information structure, but with limited amounts of cross-referencing of arguments on the verb.

The function of gender marking becomes more clear through comparisons with Komo, a closely related Koman language. In Komo, it is possible to have a fully-formed grammatical sentence with only a verb and person-marking suffixes (Otero 2012).

(87) *iʃi-r*
sleep.ITV-3SG.M

'He is sleeping.' (Otero 2012)

In contrast, Uduk requires an independent NP.

(88) *á'dī ísh-í'd*
3SG sleep:IPFV-3SG

'He is resting.'

According to Otero (2015c), all finite verbs in Komo must be marked for one core (S/A/O) argument. Komo uses a complex system of argument-cross referencing on the verb, and most arguments of a clause are generally marked on the verb.

This becomes particularly interesting when we compare examples in which the constituent order is adjusted for information structure. Like Uduk, Komo can also adjust constituent order, and clauses in an OVA word order are not rare. However, unlike Uduk, fronted arguments retain their cross referencing on the verb, as can be seen in examples (89) and (90).

(89) *aka wás'-ø-ak k'áw*
1SG bite.ITV-ø-1SG dog

'I was bitten by the dog.' (Otero 2012)

(90) *aka wás'í-r-ak*
1SG bite.ITV-3SG.M-1SG

'I was bitten by him.' (Otero 2012)

In examples (91) and (92), equivalent sentences show that Uduk does not retain the argument cross referencing on the verb that Komo does. Instead, case markers for the post-verbal arguments appear, differentiated by gender marking.

(91) *áhā wǔ'c mā 'ká*
1SG bite:PFV ERG.CL2 dog

'I was bitten by the dog.'

(92) *áhā wǔ'c ā á'dī*
1SG bite:PFV ERG.CL1 3SG

'I was bitten by him.'

Uduk's gender marking system appears to have a particularly strong basis in referent and argument tracking during discourse. Most of the time, the primary distinction between the two genders in terms of marking is not a difference in which particular markers are used, however, but rather that Class II genders actually *have* overt marking in some way. There are two grammatical cases, the Accusative and the Associative, in which there is overt marking only for Class II nouns. Additionally, the use of the Accusative marker also requires cross-referencing of A.

(93) *wàthí dhìth-ì'd à shō?*
man sweep:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 floor

'The man swept the floor.'

With the other constellation, in contrast, not only is there no overt marking for O, but in fact the cross-referencing of A is inhibited as well.

(94) *wàthí dhìth gù'b*
man sweep:PFV house

'The man swept the house.'

Through distinctions in gender marking, the listener is able to keep track of roles, even should the speaker adjust a clause for information structure variations. The redundancy of Class II nouns being marked through multiple places in a construction and Class I not being marked at all allows the listener to have multiple cues for argument tracking.

4.3.1 Gender Marking

Gender marking is indicated in a number of ways, on both the noun itself as well as through agreement with other words. The primary morphological difference between the two classes on the noun itself is the presence or absence of the marker *à*, which indicates a Class II noun. This marker is, however,

optional in isolation. Furthermore, gender and case-marking are conflated together in Uduk, and when nouns occur in different cases, case-marking varies according to the gender.

A summary of the Gender Markers may be seen in table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Gender marking

	Absolutive	Accusative	Associative	Ergative	Genitive
Class (I)	ø	ø	ø	ā	gì
Class (II)	à	ā	ā	mā	mā

The default case is that of the Absolutive, which in most instances is also the citation form. In the Absolutive, Class II nouns are marked with the proclitic *à*, and left unmarked for Class I nouns. The Class II marker is optional in citation form.

The Accusative case occurs only when O is post-verbal, and is morphologically marked only by a tone change of Class II nouns from L *à* to M *ā*. Class II Accusative case markers also move phonologically onto the end of the verb, the tone of *ā* lowering to L when directly following a L tone. Class I nouns do not have any overt case marking when in Accusative case, but they do trigger person-marking agreement alternations, suppressing all agreement marking except for 1st person.

Examples may be seen below of Class I and II noun alternations in Accusative case.

(95) *wàthí* *dhĭ'th* *ø* *gù'b*
man sweep:IPFV ACC.CL1 house

'The man swept the house.'

(96) *wàthí* *dhĭth-í'd* *ā* *shō?*
man sweep:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 floor

'The man swept the floor.'

The Ergative case only occurs when A is post-verbal, and is morphologically marked by *ā* for Class I A arguments and *mā* for Class II arguments. Like the Accusative, the case marker phonologically shifts from the noun itself onto the end of the verb, and thus the case markers also lower from M to L when directly following a L tone in the same way that Accusative does. If the verb ends in a vowel, an epenthetic nasal *n* is placed at the end of the verb.

(97) *gù'b* *dhĭ'th* *ā* *wàthí?*
house sweep:IPFV ERG.CL1 man

'The man swept the house.'

(98) *gù'b dhǐ'th mā 'bóm*
house sweep:IPFV ERG.CL2 woman

'The woman swept the house.'

The Genitive case also shows some variation due to gender. There are two markers for the Genitive, *gì* for Class I possessors and *mā* for Class II possessors. *Gì* does not change its tone, staying invariably L; *mā* on the other does lower to L when directly following a L tone.

(99) *à nós gì wàthí?*
CL2 pot GEN.CL1 man

'The man's pot.'

(100) *à nós mā 'bóm*
CL2 pot GEN.CL2 woman

'The woman's pot.'

In addition to case marking variations, prepositions, conjunctions, and some relational nouns also have alternations depending on the gender of the noun which follows.

Most prepositions, conjunctions, and complementizers have two possible forms, alternations based on the gender of the noun following the grammatical marker. These alternations typically end in *-i* for Class I nouns, and *-a* for Class II nouns; the tone varies on the individual word.

A list of alternations may be seen in table 4.4.

(101) *ārí wàshán 'kōsh-ó'd ā ḵúrā bwày nyàrá?*
DIM.CL1 boy kick:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 ball to girl

'The boy kicks the ball to the girl.'

(102) *dhàlì yán 'kō'd à ḵúrā kí 'dāŋkāl bwàyà 'ká*
and.CL1 DEM.PROX after CL2 ball NARR roll to.CL2 dog

'And after that the ball rolls to the dog.'

(103) *ḵú? dǒsh-ó'd í 'kō'dá àràbǐyà*
giraffe stand:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 behind.CL2 car

'The giraffe is standing behind the car.'

Table 4.4: Prepositions, Relational Nouns, and Conjunctions

Class I	Class II	Gloss
í	á	in, at, on
ě	ēá	in, at, on (longer period)
kí	ká	complementizer; various
kī	kā	with, by, at (time)
nyàk̲kí	nyàk̲ká	with, alongside
'kō'dí	'kō'dá	behind, after, against
'kúp̲í	'kúp̲á	above, over
'péní	'péná	from, under
p̲ói	p̲óá	on top of
mè'd(ì)	mè'dà	as, like, during
tāgì	tāgà	up to, until
dhàlì	dhàlà	and
bwày	bwàyà	to, towards
gòm	gòmà	for, to
gàm	gàmà	until (time)
mís	mísá	at the top of, above

(104) *áhā 'kwār-á kā gălām*
1SG write:IPFV-1SG with.CL2 pen

'I'm writing with a pen.'

The diminutive *ārí*, *ārá* and its plural form *ūshí*, *ūshá* also must agree in gender with the noun it modifies.

(105) *áhā mìsh-á ārí mì*
1SG see:IPFV-1SG DIM.CL1 goat

'I' saw the little goat.'

(106) *áhā mìsh-á ārá nyăw*
1SG see:IPFV-1SG DIM.CL2 cat

'I' saw the little cat.'

4.4 Case

4.4.1 Introduction

The case system presented here is based on a division elaborated on by (Dixon 1994), in which participants of a clause are divided into core and peripheral

roles. The core functions are the transitive subject (A), the intransitive subject (S), and the transitive object (O); all other participants are treated as peripheral. The way these arguments fit into a system in Northeast Africa, however, is somewhat more challenging to address.

In many languages of Northeast Africa, there are multiple strategies for marking grammatical relations, including both constituent order and case marking. A core participant is initially identified by its relative position in the constituent order. When a different constituent order occurs than a 'canonical' constituent order, however, another alignment-marking strategy is needed, typically that of morphological case marking.

As an example, Dinka has been analyzed as a topic-first V2 language (Andersen 2002), in which preverbal subjects do not receive nominative case marking, but post-verbal subjects do. The topic is whichever element occurs in clause-initial position, most commonly S or A. If another argument is the topic of the discourse, however, such as O or peripheral arguments, then the subject S/A occurs after the verb with an overtly marked nominative case.

While marked nominative languages like Dinka occur relatively frequently among languages of Northeast Africa, ergativity is more rare. Ergative case marking is primarily restricted to a subgroup of West Nilotic languages, as well as a handful of other languages in Sudan and Ethiopia. These languages show differences in the details and functions of their case marking systems, but one commonality is that all of these languages are 'split-ergative'. That is, ergative case-marking is constrained in some way, such as constituent order or clause type. Many of these contraints occur in pragmatically governed circumstances, including animacy, definiteness, topicality, and focus.

As an example, Beria is a verb-final Saharan language spoken in Chad and Ethiopia with optional ergative case marking. Beria uses ergative case "in diverse pragmatic and syntactic contexts, not simply for assigning argument focus to the A term (Lambrecht 1994) but also for identifying an A when the P term is in focus; for highlighting brand new A participants (Prince 1981) in sentence focus contexts; for disambiguating grammatical roles; and for marking the A of quotative constructions and embedded relative clauses" (Wolfe and Tajeldin Abdalla Adam (forthcoming)).

Luwo, a West Nilotic language, also employs variations in case in combination with constituent order for pragmatic purposes (Storch 2014). Storch states that "There are certain discourse functions which correlate with the placement of the case marker before or after the verb. In transitive constructions, Luwo employs at least two different constructions, whereby the agent-participant is definite if it occurs clause-initially. Being a prototypically definite participant, the agent--participant needs no marking in AVO clauses. In OVA clauses, in contrast, the agent-participant stands in a post-verbal position, where it is indefinite and is typically marked with the ergative case marker. This suggests that the object-- participant is more topical than the agent in an OVA clause, in the sense that A has to be case-marked, this being the more unusual situation" (Storch 2014, p. 189).

Uduk is a split-ergative language, with alternations in case marking dependent on clause type and constituent order. That is, case marking is controlled

by constituent order, which is in turn governed by pragmatic or discourse-based motivations. It shows a constraint common to Northeast Africa in that case marking is neutralized when a core participant occurs preverbally, namely that... "In preverbal positions the core participants S, A, and O occur always in one form only, namely the morphologically most unmarked one. [...] In marked-nominative systems, this form is identical with the accusative; and in ergative systems with the absolutive... the rule is also a split condition as it specifies a context in which case is neutralized"' (König 2008, p. 240).

In Uduk, the only position which is marked for case is the argument immediately following a verb, be that O, S, or A. Other core relations are not case-marked, irrespective of whether they occur before or after the immediate post-verbal position. If the post-verbal argument is O, it is marked by ACC case. If it is A (or S), it is marked by ERG case. Post-verbal S is only possible in specific types of subordinate clauses, and could be considered a type of *Extended Ergative* in much the same way that Andersen has used for Päri (Andersen 1988b). Thus, case marking in Uduk is not limited to Ergative or Accusative or Nominative; in fact, all three can occur, depending on the details of the construction[3]. But only one occurs at a time.

In summary, Uduk displays the following alternations:

1. Only one position per clause is case-marked: the (immediate) post-V position. Other positions are not case marked.
2. Variations in constituent order are common, depending on the voice of the clause, but S cannot occur post-verbally in main clauses.
3. If case marked, A (and limited instances of S) are marked by an ERG case, and O is marked by an ACC case.

This plus the constituent order alternations gives the following possible clause types.

Main clauses:

- S V
- O V A_{ERG}
- A V O_{ACC}

Subordinate clauses:

- S V
- V S_{ERG}
- O V A_{ERG}
- A V O_{ACC}

A summary of the case markers may be seen in table 4.5.

[3]Contexts governing case marking, constituent order variation, and clause types are described in more detail in Chapter 9.

Table 4.5: Case markers

	Absolutive	Accusative	Associative	Ergative	Genitive
Class (I)	ø	ø	ø	ā	gì
Class (II)	à	ā	ā	mā	mā

One final thing to keep in mind regarding case marking is that most nominal morphology has a tendency to move leftwards, phonologically cliticizing onto the previous element in the clause. As case is only marked for post-verbal constituents, this can cause nominal morphology to resemble verbal morphology in some respects. Syntactically, this marker remains part of the NP; phonologically, however, the case marker is part of the verbal complex.

4.4.2 Accusative

The Accusative case is used to mark the O argument in an A-Voice construction. It is overtly marked only with Class II arguments. These construction generally correlate more closely with the typological notion of a prototypical transitive predicate. The Accusative case is marked by a tonal alternation, a mid-toned *ā* which replaces the Absolutive *à*. This lowers back to L when directly following a L tone. If there are two objects following the verb, note that only the first object can have case marking.

(107) *wàthí? dhǐth-í'd ā shō?*
man sweep:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 floor

'The man swept the floor.'

(108) *wàthí? dhìth-ì'd à shō?*
man sweep:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 floor

'The man swept the floor.'

Class I nouns do not mark Accusative case. Instead, there is a reduction of verbal morphology, in that 2nd and 3rd person agreement markers are suppressed, and greement markers only appear in 1st person. The Accusative case with Class I nouns could be potentially viewed as a type of subtractive morphology.

Table 4.6: A-Voice Person-number agreement marking when O is Class I

-(n)á	1SG	-(n)á	1PE
		-(n)à	1PI
	2SG		2PL
	3SG		3PL

A comparison to agreement marking for A with Class II O may be seen in table 4.7.

Table 4.7: A-Voice Personal agreement marking when O is Class II

-(n)á	1SG	-(n)á	1PE
		-(n)à	1PI
-(V)n	2SG	-(V)n	2PL
-(V)'d	3SG	-(V)n	3PL

(109) Class I O

á'dī sí ēmén ā cīlé
3SG plant:IPFV seed ASS.CL2 lentil

'He's planting lentil seeds.'

(110) Class II O

á'dī sí-'d ā wŭ'th
3SG plant:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 edible.root

'He's planting *wuth* roots.'

In trivalent constructions, only the object immediately following the verb receives Accusative marking. This is generally the object of the applicative.

(111) Class I IO, Class I O

á'dī sí-kí cōm ēmén ā cīlé
3SG plant:IPFV-AD1 his.father seed ASS.CL2 lentil

'He is planting lentil seeds for his father.'

(112) Class II IO, Class I O

á'dī sí-kí-'d ā kām pí'dī ēmén ā
3SG plant:IPFV-AD1-3SG ACC.CL2 brother POSS.3SG seed ASS.CL2
cīlé
lentil

'He's planting lentil seeds for his brother.'

4.4.3 Ergative

The discovery of ergativity in African languages is relatively recent. Buth (1981) was one of the first to observe that in Luwo, a West Nilotic language of Southern Sudan, post-verbal agents take an ergative case marker, although preverbal agents are not marked for case. Subjects in intransitive clauses can only precede the verb, and also do not take a case marker. Andersen (1988b) has shown Päri to follow a somewhat similar pattern; likewise, Miller (2001) shows a similar pattern for Shilluk, and Dimmendaal (2010) for Tima.

In more recent times, Gaahmg (Ingessana) has also been analyzed as being a split-ergative language (Stirtz 2013), and the Saharan language Beria displays surprising similarities in its structure, including idiosyncrasies in transitivity and dummy arguments (Jakobi 2006, Wolfe and Tajeldin Abdalla Adam forthcoming). Kurmuk and other Burun varieties also have shown signs of ergativity (data from Andersen (2013), my own analysis). Additional details on the constraints and functions of the case marking system in Luwo have also been more thoroughly analyzed and elaborated on in Storch (2014).

Although descriptions of Shilluk and Päri have existed for longer, previous scholars had not understood the importance of constituent order alternations and case marking. Much of the early Northeast African language documentation was conducted by Italian priests classically trained in Latin grammar. These languages were said to use "the passive" very frequently: "The astounding persistency of prevalently using the passive voice of transitive verbs shows the keen logic of their thought which makes the most of the object done or to be done..." (Kohnen 1933, p. ix).

Similarly, Stevenson displayed difficulties in understanding Uduk constituent order and case marking alternations, saying rather that that the passive "is common in Uduk, and is used where English would employ an active; this may be due to Nilotic influence, as both active and passive usages are found side by side" (Stevenson 1944, p. 62). His difficulties were compounded by the fact that tone was not documented and he did not recognize the existence of grammatical gender distinctions. The difference between A-Voice 'I hit the man' and O-Voice 'The man hit me' is differentiated by tone alone phonetically, so a lack of understanding of how tone plays a role in the grammar would not allow a proper analysis of how argument structures function. Examples of the two alternations are shown below.

(113) *áhā 'kósh-á wàthí?*
1SG hit:PFV-1SG man

'I hit the man.'

(114) *áhā 'kósh ā wàthí?*
1SG hit:PFV ERG.CL1 man

'The man hit me.'

However, Stevenson did recognize that these constituent order alternations differ from actual passive constructions. What Stevenson calls passive is also recognized by the present author as a (non-promotional) passive, or impersonal construction, discussed more in section 8.9.

Despite a superficial resemblance to passive constructions of European languages (such as OVA constituent order and a backgrounded agent), these constructions are not considered as passive for a number of reasons.

Firstly, O-Voice constructions have an obligatory A (but not O) argument; there is no possibility of leaving out the A-argument. In passive constructions, agents are either omitted or assigned to an oblique role, and do not remain a core argument of the verb. The A argument in Uduk O-Voice constructions is not optional, nor is it assigned to an oblique role.

Secondly, Uduk does have an overtly marked method for creating an Impersonal construction, which is functionally equivalent to a passive in most respects. The Impersonal construction may be used with both monovalent and bivalent predicates, and does not allow for the expression of an agent through oblique roles. If there is an object argument with an Impersonal construction, it remains as O, and does not get promoted to an S position.

As mentioned previously, Uduk is a split-ergative language. Ergative case marking in Uduk appears when A is placed in the immediate post-verbal position in a transitive clause (O-Voice clause type), marked by *ā* for Class I arguments and *mā* for Class II arguments. If additional arguments occur in the clause, no other arguments may be placed between the verb and A. Thus, although constituent order is flexible in Uduk, if both A and O are overtly mentioned, it is not possible to get any type of TOP-V-O-A order. It is sometimes possible to omit the O argument from the clause structure, in instances where the O argument may be inferred from context. This omission only occurs in O-Voice constructions, however; furthermore, it is not possible to leave out A without overt morphology on the verb to inhibit the expression of the agent.

Ergativity in Uduk is related to 'optional ergativity', following e.g. McGregor (2010), in the sense that the "use of the ergative marker is typically motivated by semantic or information-structural principles" (McGregor and Verstraete 2010). However, Uduk is nonetheless not an example of optional ergativity, as the case marker is required in O-Voice constructions. Pragmatic considerations affect the constituent order, but they do not directly affect the use of the case marker.

O-Voice constructions would frequently fit the typological category of a *functional inverse*, as they invert the alignment and expression of semantic roles and grammatical expression of those roles (following e.g. Payne 1997). They reduces the centrality of the agent with respect to the patient, but not as much as in a passive construction. O-Voice constructions are also used when there is less volitionality or control over the action by the agent, such as losing shoes or dropping a glass. Generally speaking, A-Voice constructions occur when the agent is more definite, human, animate, and volitional, whereas O-Voice constructions occur when the agent is less definite, human, animate, and volitional. Most experiencer constructions occur in O-Voice, and the O arguments of O-Voice constructions are more frequently definite.

Ergative case marking has few limitations aside from constituent order. Questions may be both A-Voice as well as O-Voice, and there are no constraints in regard to aspect or negation. One general tendency with negated O-Voice constructions, however, is that it more frequent to omit overt O arguments.

Case markers vary according to the gender of A. A arguments with the Class II gender are marked with *mā*, and A arguments with the Class I gender are marked with *ā*. Verbs ending in a vowel also add *-n*, irrespective of the gender of A.

(115) *gù'b dhǐth ā wàthí?*
house sweep:IPFV ERG.CL1 man

'The man has swept the house.'

(116) *gù'b dhǐth mā 'cí*
house sweep:IPFV ERG.CL2 child

'The child has swept the house.'

Pronouns are generally considered Class I in regards to case marking, but there is also an additional suppletive form for 1SG, *-kā?*. When immediately following a L tone, *-kā?*, *ā*, and *mā* all lower to L. The 1SG marker *-kā?* also changes its voicing depending on the voicing of the previous sound; this change is phonetic and predictable, and is not represented orthographically.

(117) *únī lǒ'b-ón ā ḵúrā*
3PL play:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 ball

'They are playing football.'

(118) *à ḵúrā lǒ'b ā únī*
CL2 ball play:IPFV ERG.CL1 3PL

'They're playing football.'

(119) *à yín yǎnsān gǔ-kā? gòm mà*
CL2 oil DEM.PROX take:IPFV-ERG.1SG for food

'I'm taking this oil for food.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

Verbs ending in vowels add a nasal before both Ergative markers.

(120) *yì'dé? pí-n ā wàthí?*
water drink:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 man

'The man drinks the water.'

(121) *yì'dé? pí-n mā 'bóm*
water drink:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 woman

'The woman drinks the water.'

Questions can either be in A-Voice or O-Voice.

(122) *à tá shún-ɛ́?*
CL2 what cook:IPFV-ERG.2SG

'What are you cooking?'

(123) *é gǎm tō yán 'péní máná?*
2SG find:IPFV thing DEM.PROX from:CL1 where

'Where did you get this thing from?'

Short answers commonly drop O from the initial part of the clause.

(124) *gǎm-kā? 'pénáYʉ́sɨ̀f*
find:IPFV-ERG.1SG from.CL2 Yousef

'I got (it) from Yousef.'

Negated clauses also may occur in O-Voice.

(125) *à yín mì-n à únī gàm mún yǐsā*
CL2 oil do.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1 3PL find DEM.LOC.ANPH NEG

'They won't find the oil there.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

If auxiliary verbs occur with O-Voice constructions, the second verb occurs after A.

(126) *mà gŭs-kā mĭ gòm à yím pīní mì-n*
food run.SG:IPFV do for CL2 friend POSS.2SG do.AUX:IPFV-NAS
mà Mísā sús pā mò mún
ERG.CL2 Misa lead home MO DEM.LOC.ANPH

'I am rushing to cook the food because Misa is going to take your friend home there.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

As mentioned previously, one of the most common instances that O-Voice constructions appear is with a previously introduced topic.

(127) *ánā mí-nà ī sī ēmén pós*
1PI do.AUX:PFV-1PI go.PL plant seed sorghum

'We are going to plant sorghum seeds.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

(128) *ēmén pós sí-n ā únī yĭsā*
seed sorghum plant:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 3PL NEG

'As for the sorghum seeds, they have not planted (any).'
(Uduk Primer 1965)

Choice of topic may also be anticipatory. In (129), an O-Voice construction is used with a referent which was not previously activated. However, the speaker then uses the 'place' as the topic of the discussion for the next few sentences, explaining that the water was running and that there were stones in the water.

(129) *dhàlì mò yán 'cīth-ám̄ tāntānī yì'dé*
and.CL1 place DEM.PROX cross:IPFV-ERG.1PE PHM water
gŭs-ú'd
run.SG:IPFV-3SG

'And the place we crossed, the water was running.'

Experiencer constructions are more often in Ergatively marked O-Voice constructions, typically with a dummy A argument.

(130) *á'dī dhĕl ā ē mò*
3SG blind:IPFV ERG.CL1 eye.PART MO

'He's blind, he's become blind.'

(131) *áhā mì-ná à 'tá kí shwā mà wàkkí áhā 'kósh*
1SG do.AUX:IPFV-1SG LNK CF COMP eat food if.CL1 1SG hit:PFV
ā tté?
ERG.CL1 hunger

'I would eat if I was hungry.'

Counting is also typically done with Ergatively marked O-Voice constructions. Note that the number of the verb in the next example is plural, agreeing with A, 'foot', not the topic 'man'.

(132) *wàthí? 'kó-n ā shō'k=í dòŋgòn í másán*
man exist.PL:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 time=COLL four LOC.CL1 here
mò
MO

'The man has been here four times.'

Comparisons and win-loss situations frequently use O-Voice constructions.

(133) *kā ān'thín Mánìyúnāyt ptī-n ā Chélsī*
last night Manchester United drink:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 Chelsea
ē kī mī mò
eye.PART with do MO

'Chelsea defeated Manchester United last night.'

Extended uses

Certain types of subordinate clauses require a verb-initial structure. This occurs primarily with relative clauses, and with the adverbial subordinators *mè'd yín*, 'during, while' (or variations with *mè'd* and other demonstratives such as *mè'd ca̱ǎn*, *mè'd yán*).

In these subordinate clause types, intransitive clauses also use the Ergative case markers to mark S, and thus may be viewed as a type of *marked nominative* constructions.

(134) *mè'd yín í-n ā 'kwāní wá'd á jàlì*
during go.PL:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 people hunt:PFV LOC.CL2 Chali
tāní, únī gǎm-án ā dàwà? kā rìs
PHM 3PL find:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 baboon many

'While the people were going hunting in Chali, they found many baboons.'

(135) *mè'd yín yá-kā?* *pā* *Mèlút* *ínín* *tāní* *áhā*
during go.SG:PFV-ERG.1SG village Melut there PHM 1SG
pār-kí-ná *ā* *bàbŭr* *ē* *mò*
see:IPFV-AD1-1SG ACC.CL2 steamboat eye.PART MO

'When I went to Melut I saw the steamer.'
(Beam and Cridland 1956)

(136) *múm̀* *pīní* *găm* *nàs* *mì* *í* *mò*
friend:ASS POSS.2SG find.IPFV young.female goat LOC.CL1 place
gì *pī-n* *ā* *súm* *mò*
REL.GI come.out:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 python MO

'Your friend found the young female goat in the place where the python came out.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

4.4.4 Genitive

The Genitive case in Uduk is used to mark adnominal possession, specifically the encoding of the nominal possessor. This section focuses purely on the morphosyntactic means in which the construction is formed; for a description of the semantics of the Genitive construction, see Section 4.7.4.

For Class I head nouns, the construction is formed:

$N_{possessed}$ gì $N_{possessor}$

For Class II head nouns:

$N_{possessed}$ mā $N_{possessor}$

The Genitive case was mentioned in sections 3.5 and 3.6.2.4 as situation in which a phonology-syntax mismatch occurs with only one of the markers; there is no evidence suggesting that *gì* attaches to the previous noun phonologically, particularly with *gì*'s extended use with relative clauses (described in section 10.3. Both *gì* and *mā* are written separately in glosses here, even though the language does not treat the markers identically in terms of word boundaries.

Some examples of Genitive Constructions may be seen in table 4.8.

Personal names take the Class II marker, unless they are in the plural form. Genitive constructions with personal names using the Class I case marker always refer to the Associative Plural, which is generally omitted from the construction.

Table 4.8: Genitive Constructions for *wàthíʔ*, 'man', and *à ʼbóm*, 'woman'

Gloss	Possessed noun	'The man's ...'	'The woman's ...'
hat	bùlúʔ	bùlúʔ gì wàthíʔ	bùlúʔ mā ʼbóm
tree	cwá	cwá gì wàthíʔ	cwá mā ʼbóm
dog	à ʼká	à ʼká gì wàthíʔ	à ʼká mā ʼbóm
cat	à nyǎw	à nyǎw gì wàthíʔ	à nyǎw mā ʼbóm
pot	à nós	à nós gì wàthíʔ	à nós mā ʼbóm
knife	gànthál	gànthál gì wàthíʔ	gànthál mā ʼbóm
head	ʼkúp̲	ʼkúp̲ gì wàthíʔ	ʼkúp̲ mā ʼbóm
nose	shūsh	shūsh gì wàthíʔ	shūsh mā ʼbóm
brother	à kām	à kām gì wàthíʔ	à kām mā ʼbóm
child	à ʼcí	à ʼcí gì wàthíʔ	à ʼcí mā ʼbóm
mat. uncle	shwákím	shwákím gì wàthíʔ	shwákím mā ʼbóm
axe	à thúrmàny	à thúrmàny gì wàthíʔ	à thúrmàny mà ʼbóm
goat	mì	mì gì wàthíʔ	mì mà ʼbóm

(137) *màndhèʼd mā Nàshún*
field GEN.CL2 Nashun

'Nashun's field'

(138) *màndhèʼd gì wàthíʔ*
field GEN.CL1 man

'the man's field'

(139) *màndhèʼd gì Nàshún*
field GEN.CL1 Nashun

'the field of Nashun (and the people associated with him)'

Further examples may be seen below.

(140) *ʼbān mā wǎrkāʔ*
temple (of head) GEN.CL2 book

'page/chapter of the book'

(141) *wàthínycāʼd gì Pāŋgàléʔ*
president GEN.CL1 Ethiopia

'president of Ethiopia'

(142) *à hāk̲úmà gì Pāsūdân*
CL2 government GEN.CL1 Sudan

'the government of Sudan'

(143) *yìl mà p̲ūʔ*
season GEN.CL2 fig

'fig season; the season when figs ripen'

(144) *kūm mā ʼcí kí wàl à nyòr mò*
mother.POSS.3SG GEN.CL2 child NARR complain ERG.CL1 anger MO

'(and) the child's mother gets upset.'

(145) *á'dī kí mĭsh bwày mà dhàm 'bár mò*
3SG NARR know way GEN.CL2 bee completely MO

'He really knows the way of the bee then.'

4.4.5 Associative

The Associative construction is similar to the Genitive in that there is a relationship of some kind between two nouns. It is a left-headed noun-noun (N_1 N_2) collocation in which the second noun modifies the first in some way, typically conveying either possession or association. However, the Associative is used much more broadly compared to the Genitive construction, particularly with common collocations. For further details regarding the differences between the Genitive and the Associative, see Section 4.7.4.

The structure of the Associative construction is slightly different, depending on the gender of the second noun. If N_2 is Class I, the two nouns are simply juxtaposed.

(146) Class I N_1 Class I N_2

gù'b 'dī
house bird

'Bird nest'

(147) Class I N_1 Class I N_2

á'dī kí yà dhàn jùs yáp̲ mò
3SG NARR go big hole porcupine MO

'He went (into) the porcupine's hole.'

(148) Class I N_1 Class I N_2

ō'd kí mí-ì shwá 'cémēn cwá mò kí á'dī
fire NARR do.AUX-LNK burn leaf tree MO COMP 3SG
dì-yí-'d 'té mís í ńnīī
exist.SG:IPFV-AD1-3SG just up LOC.CL1 there

'The fire burned the leaves of the tree while he was still up there.'

The gender of the head noun does not affect the morphology of the Associative construction.

(149) Class II N_1 Class I N_2

à ōm 'dī
CL2 egg bird

'Bird egg'

(150) Class II N_1 Class I N_2

à kūt̲ cwá
CL2 stump tree

'Stump of a tree'

(151) Class II N_1 Class I N_2

à múgù mà Mísā í-n ì gàm à kō
CL2 friend GEN.CL2 Misa go.PL:IPFV-3PL LNK find ACC.CL2 milk
mì gòmà kām
goat for.CL2 brother

'Misa's (two) friends are going to find some goat milk for brother.'
(Uduk Primer 1965)

If N_2 is a Class II noun, however, a construction similar to the Accusative occurs, in that the marker *ā* is mid-toned, not low, and it phonologically moves to the

end of N_1 (nonetheless written independently here). This lowers to L when followed by a L tone in much the same way that the Accusative does.

(152) Class II N_1 Class II N_2

à ōm ā ŋwá
CL2 egg ASS.CL2 chicken

'chicken egg'

(153) *à thūs ā gǎnyà?*
CL2 string ASS.CL2 ganya grass

'ganya cotton/string (a type of strong string)'

(154) *à nós ā sū*
CL2 pot ASS.CL2 beer

'beer pot; large pot'

4.4.5.1 Associative Nasal

In situations where N_1 ends in a vowel and N_2 begins with a plosive (irrespective of gender), a slight change occurs, and the Associative marker *-N* is used. This is a nasal which agrees in place of articulation with the following consonant. The Associative nasal eliminates gender marking differentiations.

(155) Class I N_2 (jè)

shē-ny jè
tooth-ASS elephant

'ivory (lit: tooth of elephant)'

(156) Class II N_2 (à 'ká)

shē-ŋ 'ká
tooth-ASS dog

'incisor (lit: tooth of dog)'

(157) Class II N_2 (à cágà?)

à wărkā-ny cágà?
CL2 book-ASS big

'a big book'

The Associative nasal causes further complications in that it is used in additional situations where the normal Associative is not, such as before colors which are not nominal in nature, or before possessive pronouns.

(158) *à nyăw kúsh*
CL2 cat white

'a white cat'

(159) *bìp̲ kúsh*
cow white

'a white cow'

(160) *à wărkā-ŋ kúsh*
CL2 book-ASS white

'a white book'

(161) *à wărkā-m pém*
CL2 book-ASS POSS.1SG

'my book'

(162) *à wărkā-ŋ kúsh pém*
CL2 book-ASS white POSS.1SG

'my white book'

Adjectives which modify a noun which are themselves followed by an additional modifier also use the Associative construction.

(163) *à wărkā-ŋ kúsh ā cágà-m pém*
CL2 book-ASS white ASS.CL2 big-ASS POSS.1SG

'my big white book'

(164) *à wărkā-ny cágà-ŋ kúsh pém*
CL2 book-ASS big-ASS white POSS.1SG

'my white book'

The origin of the Associative nasal is possibly an abbreviation of *gì*. It also occurs with some types of predicative possession (*tā gì* → *tāN*), such as with colors[4]. The rules governing whether the Associative nasal bears tone or not still require further investigation.

(165) *gù'b tā gì 'pér*
house COP PP.CL1 red

'The house is (lit: has) red.'

(166) *gù'b tā-m̀ 'pér*
house COP-ASS red

'The house is (lit: has) red.'

4.5 Nominal Derivation and Compounding

Derivational morphemes in general are somewhat limited in Uduk; this section describes some of the few which derive nouns from other parts of speech.

Gà? is a suffix deriving a limited set of attributive nouns from stative verbs, seen in table 4.9. All derived words of this type belong to Class II nouns.

Table 4.9: Derived Stative Verbs

Root	Nominal derivation	Gloss
'bór	à 'bórgà?	good
shí?	à shí?gà?	bad
cá	à cágà?	big
gwă'd	à gwă'dgà?	small
k̲ā'dām	à k̲ā'dāmgà?	tall

Adjectives of this type can occur both predicatively as stative verbs as well as as nominal modifiers.

(167) *bì̲p cā-á cā*
cow big-STV REDUP

'The cow is big.'

[4]Only found with older speakers.

(168) *yán tā bi̱p à cá-gà?*
this COP cow ASS.CL2 big-NOM

'This is a big cow.'

À màn is an agentive morpheme which derives Class II nouns primarily from verbs.

(169) à mànūk̲ànòs

à màn ūk̲ à nòs
CL2 AGNT create ACC.CL2 pot

'Potter; one who creates pots'

(170) à mànt̲órāwărkā?

à màn t̲ór ā wărkā?
CL2 AGNT show ACC.CL2 book

'Teacher; one who shows books/paper'

Màn can also be used to derive nouns from other nouns.

(171) à mànàyò

à màn à yò
CL2 AGNT ASS.CL2 grinding.stone

'Grinder, one who grinds'

Mò, 'place, time' and *tō* 'thing', are also commonly used to derive nouns from other nouns as well as nouns from verbs. These take the Associative nasal when possible.

(172) tōnyc̲ā'b

tō-ny c̲ā'b
thing-ASS sit

'Seat' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(173) tōnycūk

tō-ny *cūk*
thing-ASS hoof

'Hoofed wild animal, antelope' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(174) tōmè'd

tō *mè'd*
thing finger

'Ring (on finger)' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(175) tōʔē

tō *ē*
thing eye

'Animal'

(176) tōŋkámú

tō-ŋ *kámú*
thing-ASS other

'Something'

(177) mònthús

mò-n *thús*
time.place-ASS bad.thing

'Leprosy' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(178) mòmbà'dà'd

mò-m *bà'dà'd*
time.place-ASS

'Level place, low lying place' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(179) mòndhè'd

mò-n *dhè-'d*
time.place-ASS clear-3SG

'Cleared field; field ready to be planted'

(180) mòŋkúsh

mò-ŋ *kúsh*
time.place-ASS white

'Daytime, light'

(181) mòŋkámú

mò-ŋ *kámú*
time.place-ASS other

'Somewhere'

4.6 Generic Nouns

Generic nouns are a special type of noun which function somewhat similarly to pronouns, but are lexically nominal. They may be modified by adjectives and have assigned grammatical gender, but they nonetheless frequently replace other more semantically specific nouns. Subtypes are discussed in the sections below.

4.6.1 *Tō* and *mò*

There are two nouns, *tō*, 'thing', and *mò* 'place, time' which are used in a wide variety of situations in which something is left unspecified.

Tō is often used in Uduk in a similar manner as *it* would be in English, but it is more general, and is lexically nominal rather than pronominal. It may refer to inanimate or animate referents, singular or plural.

(182) *tō-n* *t̲wā?ā?* *gì* *mì-n-é-è* *mí* *tānì*
thing-ASS first REL.GI do.AUX:IPFV-NAS-ERG.2SG-LNK do PHM

'The first thing that you should do,'

(183) *bà tō gì mì-n à 'kwāním pā náhān*
so thing REL.GI do:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 Uduk IDENT.DEM.PL
kādhàmò? níín
long ago then

'So these are the things which the Uduk people have done in the past.'

(184) *à kákāré tāní á'dī tā tō jìn t̲ŏr 'kwāní*
CL2 woodpecker PHM 3SG COP thing REL.SG show:IPFV people
bwày à 'dán
way IDENT DEM

'The woodpecker is the one which shows people the way.'

Much as *tō* is used to refer to things or beings, *mò* is used in a similar manner for times or places. It may be used with both singular and plural referents.

(185) *rìs*[5] *'kwāní 'péní mò-ny 'césh ín-ì sā*
many people from:CL1 place-ASS earth go.PL:IPFV-LNK dance:PFV
ā bàraŋgŭ?
ACC.CL2 Barangu

'Many people from (all over) the world came to dance the Barangu.'
(James 1979, The Birapinya Tree)

(186) *tāgì á'dī kí yà p̲ú'd mò 'dīshé-ŋ gănā mò í*
until 3SG NARR go:PFV arrive place close-ASS real place LOC.CL1
yàn cwá tāntāní
near tree PHM

'Until it then goes and reaches near to the precise place next to the tree.'

(187) *'kwāní kí k̲ál mò kār-í mò-ŋ kámú*
people NARR take:PFV MO put:PFV-AD2 place-ASS other
kúl-í mò á'dī kí sē mís tāní
return:PFV-AD2 MO 3SG NARR climb:PFV up PHM

'People take it and put it in another place, it (meanwhile) goes to climb back up.'

[5]The transcription used here is not the same as used in James' work; tones have been added, and the spelling of some words has been normalized.

4.6.2 Definite Generic Nouns

There are two definite generic nouns in Uduk, *jì* 'the one' and its plural counterpart, *kū*, 'the ones'. Definite generic noun refers to a pronominal-like noun which is used to replace other nouns known or understood from context. They resemble anaphoric demonstratives, but are not lexically related.

They are also used with modifying constructions with modifiers which cannot occur on their own. This includes numbers, some colors, and possessive pronouns.

(188) *jì* *mà* *jǎ* *ā* *cá̱n?*
DEF.GEN.SG GEN.CL2 who IDENT DEM.VB.MED

'Whose is this?'

(189) *kū* *gì* *mìsh-kà?*
DEF.GEN.PL REL.GI know:IPFV-ERG.1SG

'The ones I know'

(190) *húl-ī* *jì* *ō-n* *ā* *bwà* *é*
look-IMP DEF.GEN.SG say:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 stomach.PART 2SG
kí *shwá*
NARR EAT

'Choose the one which you want to eat.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(191) *gù'b* *à* *kámú* *dǐ-'d* *kā* *pā̱r 'bān* *únī*
house ASS.CL2 other be.located:IPFV-3SG with.CL2 adjacent 3PL
kí *jì-m* *pém*
COMP DEF.GEN.SG-ASS POSS.1SG

'The other house is next to mine.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(192) *jì-ŋ* *gò'dgò'd* *kí* *lós* *ā* *kámú-m* *'pér*
DEF.GEN.SG-ASS green NARR swallow ACC.CL2 other-ASS red

'The green one eats the red one.'

(193) *dhàlì* *jì-m* *'pér* *kí* *lós* *ā* *kámú-n* *'thí*
and DEF.GEN.SG-ASS red NARR swallow ACC.CL2 other-ASS black
mò
MO

'And the red one eats the black one.'

4.6.3 Indefinite Generic Nouns

There are two indefinite generic nouns, *à kámú* 'the other, other, another' and *tíyā* 'some, someone, something'. These have a wide variety of uses, both as separate nouns as well as modifying other nouns through the Associative construction.

(194) *wàthí-ŋ kámú kí yà-yú dhàlì bŭ? á'dī 'pénā jè*
person-ASS other NARR go-VENT and remove 3SG from.CL2 mud

'Another person came and removed her from the mud.'

(195) *áhā yĭsā 'kōsh-kí-ná tō kámú=à*
1SG no hit:IPFV-AD1-1SG thing other=NEG

'I didn't kill anything.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(196) *'kwāní-n tíyā í-n mò bwày yì'dé*
people-ASS some go.PL:IPFV-3PL MO to water

'Some people went to the river.'

(197) *'kwāní 'cé'd ā tíyā 'twā kī tár mò*
people break:IPFV ERG.CL1 others mouth with.CL1 side MO

'The people were defeated by some others.'
(Beam and Cridland 1956)

(198) From the Yabus dialect

mìsh-ɨ́ ɨ́ wàzí-ŋ gàp̲ à kámú yùk̲-ù
know:IPFV-2SG 2SG person-ASS shore ASS.CL2 other call:IPFV-IMPRS
kí K̲ānyā
COMP Kanya

'You know the person from the other shore (who is) called Kanya.'

4.7 The Nominal Phrase

4.7.1 Introduction

The noun phrase (NP) in Uduk is comprised of at least one head noun, optionally with an adjectival modifier, a relative clause, a Genitive NP, a modifying

noun, a prepositional phrase, and/or an adnominal demonstrative. Most adnominal demonstratives may also function as the head of an NP.

NPs tend to be left-headed, but there are individual differences in ordering inside the NP. Most NP word ordering relative to the head NP is fairly strict, and changing the order will either change the meaning or make a structure ungrammatical.

A list of word-orders relative to the head noun in an NP is as follows:

- Noun – Modifying Noun
- Noun – Relative Clause
- Noun – Possessive Pronoun
- Noun – Modifier (some exceptions)
- Noun – Demonstrative
- Noun – Numeral
- Preposition – Noun
- Article – Noun
- Genitive – Noun

4.7.2 Ordering inside the NP

Inside the NP, ordering is fairly flexible, and possessives, genitives, and demonstratives may be rearranged without a change in meaning. It is rare for more than one modifier to modify a noun, however.

(199) *à mǎŋgà-ny cágà?=í múdhè'd*
CL2 mango-ASS big=COLL five

'five big mangos'

(200) *à mǎŋgà gwǎnsān=í múdhè'd*
CL2 mango DEM.PL=COLL five

'these five mangos'

(201) *ūc̣í-ŋ kwārā-m pém*
children-ASS three-ASS POSS.1SG

'my three children'

(202) *ūc̣í-m pém=í kwārā*
children-ASS POSS.1SG=COLL three

'my three children'

(203) *gùb yán*
house this

'this house'

(204) *gùb pém yán*
house POSS.1SG this

'this house of mine'

(205) *gùb à cágà-m pém yán*
house ASS.CL2 big-ASS POSS.1SG this

'this big house of mine'

(206) *gù'b à cágà gì wàthí yán*
house ASS.CL2 big GEN.CL1 man this

'this man's big house'

(207) *gù'b à cágà mà 'bóm yán*
house ASS.CL2 big GEN.CL2 woman this

'this woman's big house'

It is not possible to use a demonstrative inside of a Genitive construction, e.g. 'this big house of the man'.

(208) **gù'b à cágà yán gì wàthí?*
*house ASS.CL2 big this GEN.CL1 man

'this big house of the man'

4.7.3 Agreement in the NP

Agreement is relatively limited inside the NP, restricted primarily to number agreement with demonstratives and relative clause markers. All adnominal demonstratives have alternations for plurality; some prenominal modifiers alternate for number, discussed in section 6.2.

(209) *à ’ká yánsān*
CL2 dog DEM.PROX.SG

‘this dog’

(210) *à ’ká gwǎnsān*
CL2 dog DEM.PROX.PL

‘these dogs’

However, aside from specific mismatches discussed in section 8.7 of Chapter 8, if there is more than one target for a controller, the targets must agree in number.

(211) *à ’ká bùk̲-ù’d mò*
CL2 dog bark:IPFV-3SG MO

‘The dog barked.’

(212) *à ’ká bùk̲-ùn mò*
CL2 dog bark:IPFV-3PL MO

‘The dogs barked.’

(213) *à ’ká yánsān bùk̲-ù’d mò*
CL2 dog DEM.PROX.SG bark:IPFV-3SG MO

‘This dog barked.’

(214) **à ’ká gwǎnsān bùk̲-ù’d mò*
*CL2 dog DEM.PROX.PL bark:IPFV-3SG MO

‘These dog barked.’

(215) *à ’ká gwǎnsān bùk̲-ùn mò*
CL2 dog DEM.PROX.PL bark:IPFV-3PL MO

‘These dogs barked.’

(216) *à ’ká yánsān bùk̲-ùn mò
*CL2 dog DEM.PROX.SG bark:IPFV-3PL MO

‘This dogs barked.’

Modifiers do not generally agree in gender with their controller, except for the diminutive *ārí*, *ārá* and its plural form *ūshí*, *ūshá*.

(217) *áhā mìsh-á ārí mì*
1SG see:IPFV-1SG DIM.CL1 goat

‘I’ saw the little goat.’

(218) *áhā mìsh-á ārá nyǎw*
1SG see:IPFV-1SG DIM.CL2 cat

‘I’ saw the little cat.’

4.7.4 Attributive Possession and Association

This section deals with different ways of marking possession and association in Uduk. Attributive possession in Uduk is indicated with a Genitive construction or Associative construction if the possessor is nominal, and with possessive pronouns if the possessor is pronominal.

The difference between the Genitive and the Associative forms something of a continuum, in which the Genitive marks an association between two referents which is more alienable, less close, and the possessor is more definite and animate; the Associative on the other hand marks a relationship which is more inalienable, closer, and potentially less definite or animate. Genitive constructions may be replaced by possessive constructions with possessive pronouns, whereas Associative constructions generally are not replaceable. The details of the animacy hierarchy still require investigation, but human as opposed to non-human does appear to be a particularly common division with the Genitive and Associative.

Genitive

The Genitive case is used to mark attributive possession constructions of nominal arguments. It is most commonly found with more animate possessors, and may be used for ownership of property, whole-part relations (including body parts), and both consanguineal as well as affinal kinship relations.

As mentioned previously, the construction is formed for Class I nouns:

$N_{possessed}$ gì $N_{possessor}$

And for Class II head nouns:

$N_{possessed}$ mā $N_{possessor}$

There are no referents known so far which may not be possessed, nor are there any referents which carry obligatory possessive marking. Example (219) shows the same construction for kinship possession as well as 'alienable' possession. Additional examples are seen below.

(219) *ī-kám* *mā* *Mísā* *í-n* *ì* *hó* *ā* *cīlé*
PL-brother GEN.CL2 Misa go.PL:IPFV-3PL LNK pick ACC.CL2 bean
mā *Mísā* *mò*
GEN.CL2 Misa MO

'The brothers of Misa went to collect Misa's beans.'
(Uduk Primer 1965)

(220) *súm* *gì* *pā* *Mísā* *ó-n* *ā* *únī*
python GEN.CL1 home Misa say:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 3PL

'They said that the python (is) of Misa's home.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

(221) *à* *yím* *mā* *Dŏrgè* *dĭ* *kí* *yà* *gù* *āránā* *yò*
CL2 friend GEN.CL2 Dorge exist:IPFV COMP go.SG get grindstone
năskínā *ḿmò* *mí* *ā* *yò* *tí*
yet GER do ACC.CL2 grind QUOT

'The friend of Dorge has not yet gone to get the small grindstone to do the grinding.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

(222) *únī* *yĭsà* *ŋă̱p* *tō-ŋ* *kámú* *'péní* *cōm*
3PL NEG want:IPFV:AD2 thing-ASS other from:CL1 father.3SG
mā *'cí* *wàshán* *gì* *măsh* *'bwā-ḿ* *pí'dī*
GEN.CL2 child boy REL marry:IPFV daughter-ASS POSS.3SG
yĭsà
NEG

'They do not want anything from the father of the boy who is marrying their daughter.'

Although the Associative is more commonly used for less animate possessors, the Genitive case is preferred in situations where confusion might arise. This would occur, for instance, if the Associative phrase in question would mark a more idiomatic composition (e.g. *shē-ŋ 'ká* 'incisor' (lit: dog tooth).

(223) *shē-ny jè tā shē? gì jè*
tooth-ASS elephant COP:PFV tooth GEN.CL1 elephant

'Ivory is (from) the teeth of elephants.'

Examples of more abstract or less animate possessors are more rare, but do occur. In the following example, the word *ḵêm* is a borrow word from English, so the refugee camp is literally 'place of camp'.

(224) *í Dhûl tānî 'kwānî kí pú'd mò í ārí mò*
LOC.CL1 Dhul PHM people NARR reach MO LOC.CL1 DIM.CL1 place
mà ḵêm
GEN.CL2 camp

'in Dhul, people arrived at a small (refugee) camp'

(225) *dhàlì é kí wòl-kí 'pīny bèsé? bwàm mà nŏs*
and 2SG NARR pour:PFV-AD1 ashes BESENE inside GEN.CL2 pot
jăntān
DEM

'And you pour those ashes then inside that pot'

In some situations, the Genitive and Associative are nearly interchangable in meaning.

(226) *à hāḵúmà gì Pāsūdân*
CL2 government GEN.CL1 Sudan

'the government of Sudan'

(227) *à hāḵúmà-m Pāsūdân*
CL2 government-ASS Sudan

'the government of Sudan'

When a speaker uses a pronoun in place of a noun to mark possession, separate possessive pronouns are used, shown in 4.10[6]. If the possessed noun ends in a vowel then the Associative nasal must be used.

[6]The 1SG possessive pronoun, orthographically written as *pém*, appears to be one of the few words in which ATR distinctions have been retained. A more accurate transcription would be *pím*. Other possessive pronouns written with the vowel <i> should be understood as using the +ATR vowel [i] as normal.

Table 4.10: Possessive Pronouns

pém	my	bănā	our, inclusive
		bămˉ	our, exclusive
pīní	your	bŭm	your, plural
pí'dī	his, her, its	bŭnī	their

(228) *mì gì pā Mísà*
goat GEN.CL1 house Misa

'the goat of house Misa'

(229) *mì mà Mísà*
goat GEN.CL2 Misa

'Misa's goat'

(230) *mì-m pí'dī*
goat-ASS POSS.3SG

'his/her goat'

As mentioned above, no nouns known are obligatorily possessed. However, kinship terms do tend to occur in some type of adnominal possessive construction, and many kinship terms have suppletive forms when possessed, e.g. *cím*, 'your father'. These forms generally occur with 2SG and 3SG. Some other suppletive kinship terms may be seen below.

- *cím* 'your father'
- *cōm* 'his, her father'
- *kwāǹ* 'your mother'
- *kūm* 'his, her mother'
- *à kān* 'your brother'
- *'bāhān* 'his, her sister'
- *kū* 'mother of (Name)'
- *cō* 'father of (Name)'

Note that although these forms may not co-occur with possessive pronouns, they may occur with overt nouns in order to specify the possessor. They also may occur without possession, as seen in example (231).

(222, repeated) *únī yǐsà̰ ŋǎp̲ tō-ŋ kámú 'péní*
3PL NEG want:IPFV:AD2 thing-ASS other from:CL1
cōm mā 'cí wàshán gì mǎsh
father.POSS.3SG GEN.CL2 child boy REL marry:IPFV
'bwā-ḿ pí'dī yǐsà̰
daughter-ASS POSS.3SG NEG

'They do not want anything from the father of the boy who is marrying their daughter.'

(231) *à tá'dā ő kí yà pām 'Pénāwàyú ì*
CL1 mother say:IPFV COMP go.SG village-ASS Penawayu LNK
k̲álí ám̄ pós 'péní mún
bring-AD2 1PE sorghum from.CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH

'Mother said she would go to Penawayu village to bring us sorghum from there.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

Associative

In contrast to the Genitive, the Associative marks a more loosely defined relationship between two nouns. It is more common with inanimate possessors, and its use is less transparent, more idiosyncratic. It is rarely used for ownership, but may encode some types of whole-part relations and kinship terms. Additional uses include some types of location, attribution, and association. Attributive modifiers are frequently lexically nominal in Uduk, thus requiring an Associative construction. Relational nouns, which express a more detailed type of spatial relationship, also require Associative constructions. In fact, many relational nouns and attributive modifiers rarely occur outside of Associative constructions.

Both phonology as well as grammatical gender play a role in how the Associative is formed. As mentioned in section 4.4.5, the Associative is a noun-noun (N_1 N_2) collocation in which the second noun modifies the first in some way. In situations where N_1 ends in a vowel and N_2 begins with a plosive, an Associative nasal *-N* is used. This is a nasal which agrees in place of articulation with the following consonant, and eliminates gender marking differentiations on N_2. The Associative nasal has additional uses beyond general Associative constructions; this section focuses primarily on its Associative use, however.

In all other situations, the construction is dependent on the gender of N_2. If N_2 is Class I, a simple juxtaposition of the nouns is used. If N_2 is Class II, the Associative case *ā* is used.

The Associative is most common with less animate possessors.

(232) *ʼkwā yì'dé*
gourd water

'water gourd' (e.g. a calabash for holding water)

(233) *shō'k āràbǐyà*[7]
foot ASS.CL2:car

'tire, wheel (lit: foot of car)'

(234) *mà-ŋ ḳó'bà*
food-ASS corn

'corn porridge'

(235) *gù'b à hābûs*
house ASS.CL2 jail

'jail(house)'

The Associative may be used with body parts, but more commonly with animals than with people. In many of these instances, the Associative and the Genitive are interchangable.

(236) *ā sīmā mì*
CL2 bone goat

'goat bone'

(237) *thīny bìp̱*
tail cow

'tail of a cow'

Note that in both of the following examples, alienability is not a factor, and both example (238) as well as example (239) may refer to body parts which are still attached, or ones which have been separated from the individual.

[7] *āràbǐyà* is a fast-speech contraction of *ā àràbǐyà*.

(238) *à bòr à ’bú’th*
CL2 chest ASS.CL2 monkey

‘monkey chest’

(239) *à bòr mà ’bú’th*
CL2 chest GEN.CL2 monkey

‘monkey’s chest’

It is less common for the Associative to occur with human possessors, but it is possible with some kinship terms and closely related ideas.

(240) *āsh ā shwákām*
wife ASS.CL2 maternal.uncle

‘maternal uncle’s wife’

(241) *mì gǎm mā Mísā í pā múgù*
goat find:IPFV ERG.CL2 Misa LOC.CL1 home friend

‘Misa found the goat at his friend’s home.’ (Uduk Primer 1965)

Most prenominal modifiers require an Associative construction when functioning attributively. Some prenominal modifiers can also occur postnominally, still requiring the Associative construction.

(242) *à rìs wàsháⁿ*
CL2 many boy

‘Many boys’

(243) *wàsháⁿ ā rìs*
boy ASS.CL2 many

‘many boys’

(244) *mòr ḵūthār*
neutered pig

‘neutered pig’

(245) *mòr à ’ká*
neutered ASS.CL2 dog

‘neutered dog’

Colors which are lexically nominal also require the Associative construction.

(246) *à nyǎw ā yìn bi̱p*
CL2 cat ASS.CL2 yellow

‘a yellow cat’ (yellow is literally ‘oil of cow’)

(247) *à ’cér ā gò’dgò’d*
CL2 frog ASS.CL2 green

‘a green frog’

The derivational marker *-gà?* is used with stative verbs in order to function attributively and directly modify a noun. This marker actually creates a Class II noun out of the verb, and thus requires the Associative construction.

(248) *à dhò̱p à cágà?*
CL2 lion ASS.CL2 big

‘a big lion’

(249) *gù’b à cágà?*
house ASS.CL2 big

‘a big house’

(250) *à cím tá-’d ā cím ā ’bórgà?*
CL2 day COP:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 day ASS.CL2 good

‘The day is good (a good day).’

Relational nouns express a more detailed type of spatial or temporal relationship than found with prepositions, and when modifying a noun these use the Associative construction.

(251) *bwàmán ā gòŋ*
inside ASS.CL2 fence

'yard (area inside fence)'

(252) *bwàmbòr gù'b*
front house

'the front of the house'

4.7.5 Prepositional phrases

Adpositions in Uduk are prepositional, and many function both at the phrasal as well as the clausal level, marking various types of adverbial subordinate clauses.

There are a limited number of prepositions in Uduk; more detailed spatial differentiations are made with relational nouns through the Associative construction. Prepositions alternate depending on the gender of the noun which follows; some prepositions have more than one possible form. The preposition *í* with Class II nouns for instance can occur either as *í á* or as *á*.

A list of known prepositions can be seen in table 4.11[8].

Table 4.11: Prepositions

Class I	Class II	Gloss
í	á	in, at, on
ĕ	ēá	in, at, on (longer period)
kí	ká	to, for
kī	kā	with, by, at (time)
nyàk̲kí	nyàk̲ká	with, alongside
'péní	'péná	from, under
tāgì	tāgà	up to, until
'kō'dí	'kō'dá	behind, after, against
gòm	gòmà	for, to
gàm	gàmà	until (time)
pā	pā	'*chez*; at'
mè'd(ì)	mè'dà	as, like, during

As might be expected, prepositions have a wide range of uses, including locative, dative, benefactive, orientative, etc. Prepositional phrases generally occur clause-finally.

[8]The preposition written as *ĕ* refers to a longer-lasting temporal duration in a location. This appears to be another lexeme in which ATR distinctions have been retained, and would be more accurately transcribed as *ɪ̆*.

(253) *áhā dǐ-ná í pā*
1SG be.located:IPFV-1SG at home

'I am at home.'

(254) *áhā wòl-á yì'dé á k̲ɔ̀s*
1SG pour:IPFV-1SG water LOC.CL2 cup

'I poured the water in the cup.'

(255) *rà̱k tā kúsh mò í mīs*
cloud COP white MO LOC.CL1 sky

'The clouds are white in the sky.'

(256) *Rǎbì dǐ-y-í'd í Pāsūdân gòmà pé 'dé?*
Rabi be.located:IPFV-AD2-3SG in Sudan for.CL2 month one

'Rabi stayed in Sudan for a month.'

(257) *yì'dé? wòl-kà? á shō?*
water pour:PFV-ERG.1SG LOC.CL2 floor

'I spilled the water on the floor.'

(258) *wù'th-kà? mò kā cím mā sí īs*
help:PFV-ERG.1SG MO with.CL2 day GEN.CL2 rest

'I was helping (her) on Saturday.'

(259) *áhā mùr-á yà bwày Pāsūdân 'kō'dá pé 'dé?*
1SG AUX:IPFV-1SG go to Sudan after.CL2 month

'I'm going to Sudan in (after) a month.'

(260) *kār á'dī 'kō'dí gù'b*
put 3SG against.CL1 house

'Put it against the house.'

(261) *Árrā sī'd-á sī'd yĭsâ mè'd Páwlòs*
Arra far-STV REDUP NEG as Paulos

'Arra is not as far as Paulos.'

(262) *à nyùrúny c̲ór-ó'd ā 'bú'th ĕ 'pé-ny cwá*
CL2 hyena wait:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 monkey LOC.DUR.CL1 under-ASS tree

'The hyena is waiting for the monkey under the tree (a long time).'

4.7.6 Relational noun phrases

In order to express more detailed types of spatial or temporal relationships, Uduk employs what are called here Relational nouns, also known as relator nouns. These function somewhat similarly to prepositions, but are lexically nominal, including inherent gender. They may function as the head of an NP, and also commonly co-occur with prepositions. Relational nouns modifying a noun occur in the first position of an Associative construction, not second.

Table 4.12: Relational nouns

shēmén	alongside, along the edge of
'pémèn	end, bottom
bwàmán	inside, between, below, under, middle
bwàmbòr	front, in front of
'bāmbăl	side of
bwày	to, towards
'bān	side of, part of
k̲ārāmbòr	opposite
mís	at the top of, above
à p̲ó?	on top of, about
'kú̲p	above, over

(263) *à wărkā dĭ-'d í bwàmán í k̲ū'cáŋ*
CL2 book exist:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 middle LOC.CL1 bag

'The book is inside the bag.'

(264) *à k̲ó'bā sū'k-ú'd í bwàmbòr í gù'b*
CL2 corn stack:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 front LOC.CL1 house

'The corn is stacked in front of the house.'

(265) *dhàlà ’bóm nyǎŋ gù’b shēmēn bwày*
and.CL2 woman build:IPFV house alongside road

‘and a woman had built her house alongside the road.’
(James 1979, The Birapinya Tree)

(266) *K̲ānyā kɨ́ sú’k ’pénɨ́ pā tāgì mís wòsh*
Kanya NARR follow:PFV from:CL1 village until top mountain
yùk̲ù kɨ́ Jěm ’Twā
call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Jem ’Twa

‘Kanya followed from the village until the top of the mountain called Jem ’Twa.’ (Note: Yabus Uduk)

Chapter 5

Pronouns

This chapter focuses on describing the basic pronominal system of Uduk. Pronouns are "free forms that function alone to fill the position of a noun phrase" (Payne 1997, p. 43). Pronouns form a small, closed lexical class in which a word in this class is used to substitute for a noun or noun phrase. Pronouns have the distributional properties of nouns, but they have a more generalized meaning. In Uduk, the differentiation between pronoun and noun is something of a continuum, as some lexemes which appear to be used primarily to substitute for other nouns nonetheless have grammatical gender. One way to distinguish pronouns, however, is the fact that pronouns cannot be modified by adjectives or occur in Associative or Genitive constructions.

Subtypes of pronouns include personal (free as well as anaphoric clitics), possessive, and relative. This chapter also includes a description of reflexive and reciprocal constructions, although they do not quite function in the same way in Uduk.

5.1 Personal

There are 8 personal pronouns in Uduk, with no gender distinction in any form. 1PL does make a distinction between inclusive and exclusive, and there is a further paucal vs. multal[1] distinction with 1PE.

Personal pronouns occur in one of two forms, free-standing or as bound clitics. Free-standing pronouns are commonly used in Uduk, and texts will tend to repeat pronouns as the topic of a clause, particularly with clause-chained constructions. When these occur in preverbal position in a finite clause, they trigger agreement marking on the verb. Verbal agreement marking, however, is not sufficient in order to make a well-formed clause in Uduk. Uduk pronouns cannot be omitted from a clause when functioning as S or A arguments.

[1] The term multal is used to refer to a plural of large amounts. This is sometimes called a greater plural, or extended plural.

Bound pronouns are anaphoric clitics which only occur in the Ergative case[2], when directly following the verb, described more fully below in section 5.2.

A list of personal pronouns may be seen in table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Free pronouns as A, S, or O

áhā (áā)	I	ánā	we, inclusive
		ám̄	we, exclusive (paucal)
		ámān	we, exclusive (multal)
é	you	úm	you, plural
á'dī	he, she, it	únī	they

Some examples may be seen below.

(267) *áhā wòl-á yì'dé á k̲ō̲s*
1SG pour:IPFV-1SG water LOC.CL2 cup

'I poured the water in the cup.'

(268) *é gàm-àn à kām pém=á?*
2SG find:PFV-2SG ACC.CL2 brother POSS.1SG=Q

'Have you met my brother?'

(269) *Àbĭátēr dĭ-'d nyàk̲k-úm á píjè mún=á?*
Abiater exist.SG:IPFV-3sg with-2PL LOC.CL2 outside DEM.LOC.ANPH=Q?

'Is Abiater there with you guys outside?'

(270) *á'dī 'cĭ'th bùnyjè*
3SG cut:IPFV cloth

'She's cutting the cloth.'

As seen above, there is an inclusive and exclusive distinction with 1PL. *Ánā* is used when the speaker wishes to include the addressee, and *ámān* or *ám̄* is used when the speaker is referring to him/herself and other individuals who do not include the addressee. The difference between these is number-based; *ám̄* is used for two or three, whereas *ámān* is used for a larger group. *Ám̄* is the most pragmatically unmarked form, however, and does show up in instances where you would expect *ámān*.

[2]1SG may have an additional bound Accusative form, but more research is needed to determine whether this alternation is phonological or grammatical.

In stories, *ánā* tends to be preferred over *ám̄*, even in situations where the listener would not have been in the situation. This is potentially a narrative technique of including the listener in the story. In example (271), the speaker was explaining how planting and farming takes place among the Uduk. *Ánā* is used, despite the fact that I was not involved in the farming in any way.

(271) *ánā tā-nà gì tōnt̪é jìn sī-n ā ánā*
1PI COP:PFV-1PI GEN.CL1 food REL.SG plant:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 1PI
tā-n ā rìs
COP:PFV-3PL ACC.CL2 many

'We have many types of food which we plant.'

The exclusive pronoun *ám̄* on the other hand is used when the speaker wants to show that the listener is not involved, such as when multiple people are speaking to an individual.

In example (272) in the Yabus dialect, the speaker is emphasizing the dialectal difference between different ways of saying hyena. As the Yabus speaker was telling a story, he used the term *ŋùrńy* to refer to a hyena. Another Uduk speaker interjected with the word '*nyùrúny*?', his way of pronouncing hyena, to make certain that he understood properly. The Yabus speaker responded by explaining the terminology difference, that they call a black hyena as *ŋùrńy 'sí* instead of *nyùrúny 'thí*. The exclusion is deliberate, as the listener does not use the same term.

(272) *Áā, ŋùrńy 'sí yúh-ám̄ kɨ́ ŋùrńy 'sí tɨ̄bà*
yes, hyena black call:PFV-ERG.1PE COMP hyena black EMPH

'Yes, the black hyena we call the black hyena.'

Uduk makes a further distinction with the 1PE form, in that *ámān* is used for larger groups of individuals, and *ám̄* for smaller groups. *Ám̄* should be viewed as the pragmatically unmarked form. *Ámān* is used only when a speaker wishes to emphasize the distinction or size, and is rather marked in its use. The number distinction used to differentiate the two pronouns parallels the Individuative and Collective clitics, in that it is qualitative rather than quantitative.

(273) *ám̄ shwā-ná*
1PE eat:IPFV-1PE

'We (just a few of us) are eating.'

(274) *ámān shwā-ná*
1PE eat:IPFV-1PE

'We (many of us, but not the listener) are eating.'

When combining with verb roots which also have suppletive forms for plural marking, an interesting combination occurs. The paucal pronoun may only be used with the plural root of go, *ī*, and it is not possible to combine *ám̄* with *yà*.

(275) *ám̄ í-ná bwǎshó màn 'thámō*
1PE go.PL:IPFV-1PE bush in the morning

'We (just a few of us) are going to the bush in the morning.'

However, *ámān* may be used with either form of the verb to give a greater plural meaning, with no difference in meaning.

(276) *ámān í-ná bwǎshó màn 'thámō*
1PE go.PL:IPFV-1PE bush in the morning

'We (many of us but not the listener) are going to the bush in the morning.'

(277) *ámān yǎ-ná bwǎshó màn 'thámō*
1PE go.SG:IPFV-1PE bush in the morning

'We (many of us but not the listener) are going to the bush in the morning.'

5.2 Pronominal clitics

There are two ways in which pronominal forms may be expressed. The first, described in section 5.1 above, refers to free-standing pronouns. When they are placed in preverbal position in a finite construction, they trigger agreement marking for S/A.

When pronouns marking the A argument are placed in post-verbal position, however, there are two possible constructions which may be used. The first method is that they are marked with Ergative case in the same way that nouns are, classified as Class I nouns (discussed in section 4.4.3).

Additionally, there are bound forms of the pronouns which cliticize onto the end of the verb stem, particularly common with 1SG. The level of boundedness

with other pronominal forms, however, is somewhat more challenging to determine[3]. In fast speech, the case marker *ā* is frequently elided, with its tonal value often (but not always) left behind. Examples of the two types may be seen in (278) and (279).

(278) *cwá 'cīth ā á'dī mò*
tree cut:IPFV ERG.CL1 3SG MO

'He is cutting the tree.'

(279) *cwá 'cīth-ā́'dī mò*
tree cut:IPFV-ERG.3SGMO

'He is cutting the tree.'

Table 5.2 shows the different bound forms pronouns take.

Table 5.2: Bound Ergative pronouns

-kā?	I	-ǎnā	we, inclusive
		-ǎm̄	we, exclusive (paucal)
		-ǎmān	we, exclusive (multal)
-ḗ	you	-ű́m	you, plural
-ā́'dī	he, she, it	-ű́nī	they

(280) *shūm gǎm-ḗ?*
meat find:IPFV-ERG.2SG

'Did you find the meat?'

(281) *gǎm-kā?*
find:IPFV-ERG.1SG

'I found (it).'

[3]Siewierska comments that "In fact sometimes they [clitics] are very difficult to distinguish from bound forms and vice versa. Clitics may also resemble independent words in being written as separate words and being able to take, under some conditions, lexical stress. Therefore person markers which are considered to be clitics by one author may be treated as bound forms or independent forms by another. Following Zwicky (1985), it is customary to distinguish between simple and special clitics. Simple clitics are reduced variants of full forms occurring in the same position as full forms. Their occurrence is governed largely by the dictates of phrasal phonology and may be affected by rate of speech and sociolinguistic factors such as level of formality" (Siewierska 2004, p. 26).

What she labels as simple clitics appears to be relevant to Uduk pronominal forms when they occur post-verbally, as there is mixed evidence suggesting that they form a more integrated unit with the verb depending on the rate of speech and formality. More research is needed to determine the level of integratedness for these forms.

(282) *áhā yè-ná īs ḿmò dǐ-kā? kí*
1SG disappoint:IPFV-1SG body.PART GER neg:PFV-ERG.1SG COMP
yà
go

'I am disappointed that I can't go.'[4] (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(283) *á'dī dòk̲-kà? mò*
3SG return:PFV-ERG.1SG MO

'I got him to come back.'

(284) *hádī tā-d ā gò lòlòp̲ pém hádī-sán̄*
3SG COP:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 story POSS.1SG 3SG-here
jìn ŋàp̲-kà ç̣ī kā ç̣ím-ánsān
REL.SG want:IPFV-ERG.1SG give with.CL2 day-DEM.PROX
hádī mì-n-ād̂ k̲ál mò 'kwár
3SG do:IPFV-NAS-ERG.3SG take MO write

'This was my story here which I wanted to give this day, he will take it to write down.' (Note: Yabus Uduk)

(285) *é ŏ-kā? kí p̲ár ā 'cí ē bè*
2SG say:IPFV-ERG.1SG COMP watch ACC.CL2 child eye.PART EMPH

'I told you to look after the child!'

5.3 Possessive

Table 5.3: Possessive Pronouns

pém	my	bănā	our, inclusive
		băm̄	our, exclusive (paucal)
		bămān	our, exclusive (plural)
pīní	your	bŭm	your, plural
pí'dī	his, her, its	bŭnī	their

Possessive Pronouns are formed from personal pronouns, adding an initial bilabial stop to the beginning of the personal pronoun. 1SG and 2SG are irregular, and 3SG changes its initial vowel from a to i. Note that 1SG is actually [pím] and not [pém]; this is one of the few lexemes which have preserved the -ATR distinction.

[4] Negation in this example comes from the construction *dì kí*, used to negate a verb.

Possessive pronouns follow the noun they are modifying; nouns ending in a vowel add the Associative nasal when followed by a Possessive pronoun.

(286) *à múgù-ḿ pém lòl-ó'd ā dhàm í*
CL2 friend-ASS POSS.1SG collect:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 honey LOC.CL1
mís cwá
up tree

'My friend is collecting honey at the top of the tree.'

(287) *t̲ūr-ī mè'd pīní í ō'd*
dry-IMP hand POSS.2SG LOC.CL1 fire

'Dry your hands in the fire.'

(288) *à pē cē̲p-é'd ā sū í gù'b pí'dī*
CL2 kite prepare:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 beer LOC.CL1 house POSS.3SG

'The kite was preparing beer in its home.'

5.4 Emphatic

Uduk has a separate pronoun for emphatic use, *'cénā*, typically preceded by personal pronouns. This occurs relatively infrequently.

(289) *áhā mìn-á yà áhā 'cénā*
1SG AUX:PFV-1SG go 1SG self (emphatic)

'I will go myself.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(290) *dhàlì únī sú'k-kí-n kí gò mò, únī 'cénā*
and 3PL discuss:IPFV-AD1-3PL COMP word.PART MO 3PL self
ç̲ēm bŭnī mò ḿmò ó gò mò kí: Ánā
RECIP POSS.3PL MO GER say word.PART MO COMP: 1PI
'kōnà kí gùyú mà mò bè
stay.PL:IPFV-1PI COMP bring-VENT food MO EMPH

'And they discussed the matter amongst themselves, saying "We have not brought bread."' (SIM Bible, Matthew 16:7)

5.5 Relative

There are two relative pronouns in Uduk, *jìn* and *kūn*. These possibly originate from contractions of the indefinite nouns *jì* and *kū* plus the nasal counterpart of *gì*. Relative clauses follow their referent, and there is no differentiation for case in the pronoun itself. Relative clauses are described further in section 10.3.

(291) *wàthí jìn mìsh-áā?*
man REL.SG see:IPFV-ACC.1SG

'The person who saw me'

(292) *wàthí jìn mìsh-kà?*
man REL.SG see:IPFV-ERG.1SG

'The person who I saw'

(293) *tō jìn mìsh-kà?*
thing REL.SG see:IPFV-ERG.1SG

'The thing which I saw'

(294) *'kwāní kūn mìsh-áā?*
people REL.PL see:IPFV-ACC.1SG

'The people who saw me'

(295) *'kwāní kūn mìsh-kà?*
people REL.PL see:IPFV-ERG.1SG

'The people who I saw'

Note that it is possible to use *gì* to replace all of these, without a change in meaning.

(296) *wàthí gì mìsh-áā?*
man REL.GI see:IPFV-ACC.1SG

'The person who saw me'

(297) *wàthí gì mìsh-kà?*
man REL.GI see:IPFV-ERG.1SG

'The person who I saw'

(298) *'kwāní gì mìsh-áā?*
people REL.GI see:IPFV-ACC.1SG

'The people who saw me'

(299) *'kwāní gì mìsh-kà?*
people REL.GI see:IPFV-ERG.1SG

'The people who I saw'

Other examples may be seen below.

(300) *'kwāní yǐsâ tā gì tōnt̲é? jìn shwā-n-ű̄nī*
people NEG COP:PFV PP.CL1 food REL.SG eat:IPFV-NAS-ERG.3PL
yǐsâ
NEG

'People didn't have food to eat.'

(301) *à kákāré tānī á'dī tā tō jìn t̲ő́r 'kwānī*
CL2 woodpecker PHM 3SG COP thing REL.SG show:IPFV people
bwày à 'dán
way IDENT DEM

'The woodpecker is the one which shows people the way.'

(302) *à gùrùsh jìn cī-yí-n mā Dôn áhā*
CL2 money REL.SG give:PFV-AD2-NAS ERG.CL2 Don 1SG
'kón=í īs sú? 'cē'd kā 'kúmè'd
exist.PL:PFV-3PL=COLL fifty five

'The money that Don gave me amounts to 55.'

(303) *wàthí? gì wú-'d tā-'d ā kám pém*
man REL.GI die:PFV-3SG COP-3SG ACC.CL2 brother POSS.1SG
bè
EMPH

'The man who died was my brother.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

5.6 Reflexive and Reciprocal

There are no reflexive pronouns in Uduk; instead, different body parts, primarily the word *īs*, 'body' (or occasionally *mè'd* 'hand') are used followed by the possessive pronoun. Phrasal verbs with *īs* or *mè'd* incorporated into the VP often do not use possessive pronouns, but this variation is largely lexicalized.

(304) *áhā 'kósh-á īs pém kī tō*
1SG hit:PFV-1SG body.PART POSS.1SG with thing

'I hit myself with the thing.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(305) *wàthí 'kōsh-í 'túmá īs*
man hit:IPFV-AD2 pick.up body.PART

'The man was hit but picked himself back up.'
(Beam and Cridland 1956)

(306) *dhàlì únī yĭsâ kí gàdhìr ḿmò bùk̲ īs bŭnī yĭsâ*
and 3PL NEG NARR manage GER move body.PART POSS.3PL NEG

'And they were not able to remove themselves.'

Reciprocal constructions are formed with *c̲ém* plus the possessive pronoun. Note that *mè'd* in the examples below is part of the verb *thé mè'd* 'to greet'.

(307) *únī thĕ mè'd c̲ém bŭnī*
3PL greet:IPFV:3SG hand.PART RECIP POSS.3PL

'They greeted each other.'

(308) *ám̄ thē-ná mè'd c̲ém băm̄*
1PE greet:IPFV-1PE hand.PART RECIP POSS.1PE

'We greeted each other.'

Chapter 6

Modifiers and Modifying constructions

6.1 Introduction

Uduk has a number of classes of words covering what are traditionally called adjectives and adverbs, and are presented here under the heading modifiers. The majority of these are nominal in nature; some are verbal. There are only a handful of modifiers known so far which are neither verbal, nor can they be the head of an NP: the colors *'thí?* 'black', *kúsh* 'white', and *'pér* 'red', the prenominal modifier *dhàn*, and all numerals.

This chapter focuses first on different types of nominal modifiers, followed by an exploration into different types of comparative and similative constructions used with modifiers. It ends with a discussion of constructions used to modify a verb phrase. Some different types of nominal modifiers are as follows:

1. Prenominal modifiers
2. Quantifiers (aside from numbers)
3. Color terms which are not black, red, and white
4. Modifiers derived from stative verbs
5. Adnominal Demonstratives

Note that one of the most common ways to discuss attributive functions in Uduk is through stative verbs, a particular subclass of reduplicating verb discussed more in Chapter 8.11. Adnominal demonstratives are complex, and are discussed more fully in Chapter 7.

6.2 Prenominal modifiers

Prenominal modifiers are a small closed-class group of irregular non-scalar modifiers which have alternations for plurality (or augmented, in the case of

à rìs 'many'). When used attributively, these occur before the modified noun, not after. They are nominal in nature, and possess inherent genders.

A list of prenominal modifiers can be seen in table 6.1. Note that *dhŭrū'c* has no separate singular form, unlike the others.

Table 6.1: Prenominal Modifiers

Singular	Plural	Gloss
	Class I	
dhàn	dhăn	large, big, (old)
Ø	dhŭrū'c	small, young (of people)
ārán	úshān	young, of animals
kūmán	kúmān	female
cōm	cóm	owner of something, masculine
kūm	kúm	owner of something, feminine
	Class II	
ār(á/í)	ūsh(á/í)	small, little; diminutive
à rìs	à rĭs	many (minimal vs. augmented)
à ràsán	răsān, gwăt̲hān	male
à mòr	mŏr	neutered

Prenominal modifiers have a syntactic construction in which they actually occur as the head noun of an Associative construction, and the nouns that they semantically modify are syntactically modifying the prenominal modifiers. Most modifiers have plural alternations with tone changes.

(309) *kūmán ā ŋwá*
female ASS.CL2 hen

'A female chicken, hen'

(310) *kūmán bìp̲*
female cow

'A female cow'

(311) *kúmān bìp̲*
female.PL cow

'(Many) female cows'

The modifier *à rìs* 'many' works slightly differently in that there is a 'plural' alternation even though the base meaning is already plural in some way. The semantic distinction is similar to the use of the collective, called a 'plural of abundance' (Corbett 2000). It may occur with countable or uncountable nouns.

(312) *à rìs ʼkwānís*
CL2 many people

'Many people'

(313) *à rìs à sīʼb*
CL2 many ASS.CL2 sand

'Much sand'

(314) *à rìs à kúnùʔ*
CL2 many ASS.CL2 owl

'Many owls'

(315) *à rǐs ā kúnùʔ*
CL2 many.PL ASS.CL2 owl

'Very many owls'

(316) *à rǐs ā sīʼb*
CL2 many.PL ASS.CL2 sand

'Very much sand'

Note that some of these modifiers can also occur postnominally as well, and in many cases this effects a change in meaning. The modifier *dhàn*, for instance, functions as both a prenominal and postnominal modifier. When used prenominally its meaning is somewhat ambiguous, but is mostly used to mean big rather than old, aside from specific compounds of kinship terms. When used postnominally however, it can only mean 'old', rather than 'big'. This also occurs in the Associative construction, but both the semantic as well as the syntactic head of the construction is the noun that *dhàn* modifies. There are also no tonal alternations for plurality when used in this way.

(317) *dhàn wàthíʔ*
great person

'A great, big person'

(318) *wàthí-n dhàn*
person-ASS great

'An old person'

Two other modifiers, *dhŭrū'c*, 'young' and *à rìs*, 'many' can occur both prenominally and postnominally without a change in meaning. There are no plural alternations when postnominal.

(319) *à rìs wàshán*
CL2 many boy

'Many boys'

(320) *wàshán ā rìs*
boy ASS.CL2 many

'Many boys'

All of these may also function as the head of an NP.

(321) *dhŭrū'c 'bá'th-án*
young sick:IPFV-3PL

'The young/youth are sick.'

(322) *kūmán 'báth-á'd*
female sick:IPFV-3SG

'The female one is sick.'

(323) *à ràsán 'báth-á'd*
CL2 male sick:IPFV-3SG

'The male one is sick.'

(324) *à mòr 'báth-á'd*
CL2 neutered sick:IPFV-3SG

'The neutered one is sick.'

There are some further irregularities, depending on the grammatical role of the modified noun. When a prenominal modifier modifies a post-verbal O argument, the verb conjugates according to the inherent gender of the modifier. All modifiers from table 6.1 fit into this category.

(325) Class II Noun

wàthíʔ mìsh-íʼd ā nyǎw
man see:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 cat

'The man sees the cat.'

(326) Class I Noun

wàthíʔ mìsh bi̱p
man see:IPFV big

'The man sees the big cow.'

(327) Class I Modifier, Class I Noun

wàthíʔ mìsh dhàn bi̱p
man see:IPFV big cow

'The man sees the big cow.'

(328) Class I Modifier, Class II Noun

wàthíʔ mìsh kūmán ā nyǎw
man see:IPFV female ASS.CL2 cat

'The man sees the female cat.'

(329) Class II Modifier, Class I Noun

wàthíʔ mìsh-íʼd ā mòr bi̱p
man see:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 neutered cow

'The man sees the neutered bull.'

(330) Class II Modifier, Class II Noun

wàthí? mìsh-í'd ā mòr à 'ká
man see:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 neutered = CL2 dog

'The man sees the neutered dog.'

When modifiying a post-verbal A argument, however, the Ergative case marker agrees with the noun that the prenominal modifier is modifying, rather than the modifier itself. The case marker is not affected by the changes that the modifiers might effect.

(331) Class I Noun

à 'bóm mìsh à wàthí?
CL2 woman see:IPFV ERG.CL1 man

'The man sees the woman.'

(332) Class I Modifier, Class I Noun

à 'bóm mìsh à dhàn wàthí?
CL2 woman see:IPFV ERG.CL1 big man

'The big man sees the woman.'

(333) Class II Noun

wàthí? mìsh mà 'bóm
man see:IPFV ERG.CL2 woman

'The woman sees the man.'

(334) Class I Modifier, Class II Noun

wàthí? mìsh mà dhàn à 'bóm
man see:IPFV ERG.CL2 big ASS.CL2 woman

'The big woman sees the man.'

The diminutive *ārí, árá* and its plural counterpart *ūshí, ūshá* behave slightly irregularly compared to the rest of the prenominal modifiers. Their base gender is Class I, but they also have alternations depending on the gender of the noun that follows.

(335) *á'dī mìsh-í'd ā nyǎw*
3SG see:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 cat

'He sees the cat.'

(336) *á'dī mìsh ārá nyǎw*
3SG see:IPFV DIM.CL2 cat

'He sees the little cat.'

6.3 Quantifiers

6.3.1 Numerals

Uduk cardinal numbers stem from a relatively common system of counting through hands-feet-man (e.g. 5-10-20). Numbers six through nine are composed of five 'passing' or 'jumping' one to four, e.g. adding to. A number of variations exist with cardinal numbers; some speakers for instance do not use *múdhè'd* for 6-10 (and later corresponding series).

Table 6.2: Cardinal numbers 1-10

1	'dé?
2	sú?
3	kwārā
4	dòŋòn[1]
5	múdhè'd
6	(múdhè'd) pé 'dé? 'one passing (five)'
7	(múdhè'd) pé sú? 'two passing (five)'
8	(múdhè'd) pé(ŋ) kwārā 'three passing (five)'
9	(múdhè'd) pé dòŋòn 'four passing (five)'
10	'kúmè'd

[1] Alternatives include dòŋón, dòŋgòn, and dòŋgón.

The base *'kúmè'd* is used to construct numbers 11-19, with a few ways of constructing the forms. The number eleven, as an example, could be *'kúmè'd(ì) pé 'dé?* 'one passing ten', *'kúmè'd(ì) 'cē'dí 'dé?* 'one surpasses, breaks ten', and *pé 'dé? 'kúp̱ā 'kúmè'd* 'passing one on top of ten'. Fifteen has an irregular suppletive form which is sometimes used, *k̲ār'bā'c*. For numbers sixteen through nineteen, the series using *pé* repeats *pé*, in order to not be confused with eleven through fourteen. The Collective *=í* is added after *'cē'd* before any number higher than one, and optionally with one. It is somewhat unclear where *ī* (*ì* after a low tone) originates from, and is optionally placed after *'kúmè'd*.

Numbers higher than nineteen are based on a vigesimal pattern, using the human body (*īs 'dé?*, 'one body') as a base. For the number twenty, it is also

Table 6.3: Cardinal numbers 11-19

11	’kúmè’d ’cē’d(í) ’dé?, ’kúmè’dì pé ’dé?
12	’kúmè’d ’cē’dí sú?, ’kúmè’dì pé sú?
13	’kúmè’d ’cē’dí kwārā, ’kúmè’dì pé kwārā
14	’kúmè’d ’cē’dí dòŋòn, ’kúmè’dì pé dòŋòn
15	’kúmè’d ’cē’dí múdhè’d, ’kúmè’dì pé múdhè’d, k̲ār’bā’c
16	’kúmè’d ’cē’dí pé ’dé?, ’kúmè’dì pé pé ’dé?
17	’kúmè’d ’cē’dí pé sú?, ’kúmè’dì pé pé sú?
18	’kúmè’d ’cē’dí pé kwārā, ’kúmè’dì pé pé kwārā
19	’kúmè’d ’cē’dí pé dòŋòn, ’kúmè’dì pé pé dòŋòn

possible to use *’kúmè’d sú?*, ‘two tens’. Numbers above 100 frequently use Arabic instead of Uduk bases, and the number 1000 is taken directly from Arabic.

Table 6.4: Cardinal numbers 20-1000

20	’kúmè’d sú?, īs ’dé?
21	īs ’dé? (ī) pé ’dé?
22	īs ’dé? (ī) pé sú?
30	īs ’dé? (ī) pé ’kúmè’d, īs ’dé? ’cē’d kā ’kúmè’d
40	īs sú?
50	īs sú? (ī) pé ’kúmè’d
60	īs ī kwārā
70	īs ī kwārā (ī) pé ’kúmè’d
80	īs ī dòŋòn
90	īs ī dòŋòn (ī) pé ’kúmè’d
100	īs ī múdhè’d
200	īs ī ’kúmè’d
1000	álīp̲ ’dé?

Numbers trigger particular clitics discussed previously in section 4.2.3. The modified noun uses the Associative nasal if it ends in a vowel and the number begins with a plosive. Otherwise, there are three possible forms, the bare base form, the Individuative *=ā*, and the Collective *=í*.

(337) *à* *yĕ’d=í* *sú?*
CL2 monitor.lizard=COLL two

‘two monitor lizards’

(338) *à* *yĕ’d=í* *kwārā*
CL2 monitor.lizard=COLL three

‘three monitor lizards’

(339) *à* *wúṯūlé?* *sú?*
CL2 agama.lizard two

'two agama lizards'

(340) *à* *wúṯūléŋ* *kwārā*
CL2 agama.lizard three

'three agama lizards'

Rather than numerals directly modifying nouns, it is common for Uduk to use constructions with the verb *'kó*, 'to exist (plural root)'.

(341) *à* *gùrùsh* *'kó-n=í* *īs sú?*
CL2 money exist.PL:PFV-3PL=COLL forty

'There is 40 Birr (lit: money).'

(342) *à* *gùrùsh* *jìn* *cī-yí-n* *mā* *Dôn* *áhā*
CL2 money REL.SG give:PFV-AD2-NAS ERG.CL2 Don 1SG
'kó-n=í *īs sú? 'cē'd kā 'kúmè'd*
exist.PL:PFV-3PL=COLL fifty

'The money which Don gave me is 50 (Birr).'

(343) *ūṯ* *'kó-n* *ēkátá* *kūn* *í-yí-n*
women exist.PL:PFV-3PL how many REL.PL go.PL:IPFV-AD2-3PL
àràbǐyā?
car

'How many women are coming in the car?'

There are two words for counting times, *mè'd* 'hand' and *shō'k* 'foot'. The difference between the two is somewhat elusive, but one distinction found is that *shō'k* prefers an OVA syntactic construction with existential verbs, as seen in the example below.

(344) *áhā* *dǐ-ná* *pāŋGàlé?* *mè'd=í* *dòŋgòn*
1SG exist.SG:IPFV-1SG Ethiopia hand=COLL four

'I have been in Ethiopia four times.'

(345) *wàthí? 'kó-n ā shō'k=í dòŋgòn í másān*
man exist.PL:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 foot=COLL four LOC.CL1 here
mò
MO

'The man has been here four times.'

6.3.2 Ordinal Numbers

Uduk has one ordinal number, *t̲wā?ā?*, 'first'; the word *'kō'd*, 'after' is often used to mean second. For numbers above two, ordinal number constructions are made through relative clauses with the verb *'kó* and *à p̲ó*, 'back; top'.

(346) *Nàshún dǐ-'d í gù'b gì 'kó-n*
Nashun exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 house REL.GI exist.PL:PFV-NAS
mā p̲ó=í sú?
ERG.CL2 top=COLL two

'Nashun lives on the second floor.'

(347) *à gò lòlòp̲ jɨ̀n 'kó-n ā p̲óó sú?*
CL2 story REL.SG exist.PL:PFV-3PL ACC.CL2 top:COLL two

'This is the second story.' (Note: Yabus Uduk)

(348) *tō?ē jì-n t̲wā?ā? jɨ̀n dǐ-'d kī ē*
animal DEF.GEN.SG-ASS first REL exist.SG-3SG with.CL1 eye.PART
mò tāní wà-n à ē kā dhòp̲
MO PHM resemble:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 eye.PART with.CL2 lion
mò
MO

'The first animal which was alive was like a lion,'
(SIM Bible, Revelations 4:7)

(349) *dhàlì tō?ē jɨ̀n tā jì-ŋ 'kō'd mò jɨ̀n*
and animal REL COP:PFV DEF.GEN.SG-ASS after MO REL
dǐ-'d kī ē mò tāní wà-n
exist.SG-3SG with.CL1 eye.PART MO PHM resemble:IPFV-NAS
à ē kā mòr bḭ̀p̲ mò
ERG.CL1 eye.PART with.CL2 neutered cow MO

'and the second animal which was alive was like an ox,'
(SIM Bible, Revelations 4:7)

(350) *dhàlì tōʔē jìn ʼkó-n mā pó?=í dòŋòn mò jìn*
and animal REL exist.PL:PFV ERG.CL2 top=COLL four MO REL
dǐ-ʼd kī ē mo tāní á'dī wà-n
exist.SG-3SG with.CL1 eye.PART MO PHM 3SG resemble:IPFV-NAS
à ē kā wùlú? jìn pé-ʼd í
ERG.CL1 eye.PART with.CL2 tawny.eagle REL fly:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1
mís mò
sky MO

'and the fourth animal which was alive was like an eagle flying in the sky.' (SIM Bible, Revelations 4:7)

As mentioned previously, in instances with counting times, *mè'd* and *shō'k* are used.

(351) *yánsān tā mè'd=í kwārā mò jìn mùrkà?*
DEM.PROX COP:PFV hand=COLL three MO REL.SG will:IPFV-ERG.1SG
pú'd-kú í úm mò
arrive-ITV LOC.CL1 2PL MO

'This is the third time I am coming to you.'
(SIM Bible, 2 Corinthians 13:1)

Note that there is also a verb *hōny ē*, 'to do something several times'.

(352) *áhā hōny ā shō'k ē í mò*
1SG do.many:PFV ERG.CL1 foot.PART eye.PART LOC.CL1 place
yán sì'dà?
DEM.PROX also

'I have also come here many times.'

6.3.3 Other Quantifiers

Most quantifiers outside of numerals are made with adverbial constructions with *kí* or *ká*, as well as *kī* and *kā*. These are also originally nominal in nature, but don't tend to occur on their own as the head of a clause.

À rìs, 'much, many', is one of the only indefinite quantifiers which directly modify nouns via the Associative construction. This does not change according to countability, but there is a separate 'plural' form for a very large amount. It can also be strengthened via reduplication, *rìs ká rìs*, 'very many'. *Tíyā*, 'some, someone, something', is also used to express an indefinite amount of nouns, discussed earlier in section 4.6.3.

(353) *tō gŭn tā-n ā rìs yĭsâ*
thing DEM.ANPH.PL COP:PFV-3PL ACC.CL2 many NEG

'There are not many of those things.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(354) *'kwāní 'cé'd ā tíyā 'twā kī tár mò*
people break:IPFV ERG.CL1 others mouth.PART with.CL1 side MO

'The people were defeated by some others.'
(Beam and Cridland 1956)

(355) *gù'b 'kó-n kí dàx́á*
house exist.PL:PFV-3PL COMP few

'There are only a few houses.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

6.4 Color terms

6.4.1 Adjectival Colors

There are three basic adjectival color terms in Uduk: white, red, and black. These form a unique syntactic class of their own which are used only to modify nouns, and are placed postnominally in the NP.

Table 6.5: Basic Colors

black	'thí? (dhìs)
white	kúsh
red, purple	'pér

All three colors have stative verb equivalents, black having a suppletive form of *dhìs*. The difference between the two constructions appears to be more syntactic rather than semantic.

(356) *gù'b tā kúsh*
house COP:PFV white

'The house is white.'

(357) *gù'b kúsh-á kūsh*
house white-STV REDUP

'The house is white.'

(358) *gù'b tā 'thí?*
house COP:PFV black

'The house is black.'

(359) *gù'b dhìs-á dhìs*
house black-STV REDUP

'The house is black.'

Older speakers tend to prefer *tā gì* 'to have' rather than the plain copula. *Gì* may also be replaced by a homorganic nasal which is a TBU.

(360) *Dăsí á'dī kí āk̲ jàs ē mò ítāní, á'dī kí*
cordonbleu 3SG NARR change color eye.PART MO PHM 3SG NARR
tā-m̀ 'pér mò tāní
COP-PP.CL1 red MO PHM

'The cordonbleu it starts to change its color then, it become red.'

Basic colors do not occur on their own as the head of an NP, but they do trigger the Associative nasal on the noun which they modify, if that noun ends in a vowel.

(361) *à nyăw kúsh*
CL2 cat white

'The white cat'

(362) *à nyăw 'thí?*
CL2 cat black

'The black cat'

(363) *à 'cér 'pér*
CL2 frog red

'A red frog'

(364) *à wărkā-m 'pér*
CL2 book-ASS red

'The red book'

(365) *à wǎrkā-n 'thí?*
CL2 book-ASS black

'The black book'

6.4.2 Other Color terms

There are four additional color terms[1] which are lexically nominal, which can modify a noun through the Associative construction. They also occur postnominally. Despite the structural resemblance, only red, black, and white can be considered 'true' adjectives from a syntactic point of view, as they do not have gender marking, nor can they function as the nominal head of a clause.

Table 6.6: Nominal colors

blue, green	à gò'dgò'd
yellow	à yìn bìp̄
brown	à mán dhùp̄àny
grey	à 'pīnyā mà'th

Nominal colors have inherent gender and are able to function as the head of a predicate much like any other noun. They occur postnominally in the Associative construction when modifying another noun.

(366) *à 'cér ā gò'dgò'd*
CL2 frog ASS.CL2 green

'A green frog'

(367) *à 'cér ā yìn bìp̄*
CL2 frog ASS.CL2 yellow

'A yellow frog'

The color green is unlike the other three nominal colors in that it also has a stative equivalent.

[1]The term for color in Uduk, *jàmàs* (or *jàs* for short), does not simply refer to color, but also shapes and patterns. This is not then restricted to certain spectra of visible light, but rather refers to the visible appearance of something, and can include terms like striped, spotted, murky, opaque, dark, light, etc. The colors listed below are those known so far which correspond to colors of visible light spectra, but they may have extended meanings, and more terms may exist. Furthermore, preliminary research suggests that additional terms may also exist in specific domains, such as *à ūnycūt*, which is grey only when referring to the coat of a goat.

(368) *gù'b tā-'d ā gò'dgò'd*
house COP:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 green

'The house is green.'

(369) *gù'b gò'd-á gò'd*
house green-STV REDUP

'The house is green.'

The syllable structure of the modified noun can obscure the relationship between it and the color term. Open-syllable nouns also take the Associative nasal, functioning in the same way with nominal colors (example 370) as with adjectival (example 371) .

(370) *à wărkā-ŋ gò'dgò'd*
CL2 book-ASS green

'The green book'

(371) *à wărkā-ŋ kúsh*
CL2 book-ASS white

'The white book'

Remember that the Associative nasal only appears before plosives, so before yellow and brown there is no nasal on book.

(372) *à wărkā? yìn bi̱p*
CL2 book yellow

'The yellow book'

(373) *à wărkā? mán dhùp̱àny*
CL2 book brown

'The brown book'

As they are nominal in nature, green, yellow, and brown may function as the head of a clause. Red, black, and white are not able to, requiring *jì* in order to function in a predicate. *Jì* may be used with both nouns and adjectives, however, so it is possible to use with all color types.

(374) *à gò'dgò'd 'bór-á 'bōr*
CL2 green good-STV REDUP

'Green is nice, the green (one) is nice.'

(375) *jì-ŋ gò'dgò'd 'bór-á 'bōr*
DEF.GEN.SG-ASS green good-STV REDUP

'The green one is nice.'

(376) **kúsh 'bór-á 'bōr*
*white good-STV REDUP

'White is nice.'

(377) *jì-ŋ kúsh 'bór-á 'bōr*
DEF.GEN.SG-ASS white good-STV REDUP

'The white one is nice.'

6.5 Modifiers derived from Stative verbs

Stative verbs are one of the primary means in Uduk for describing an attribute or quality of a referent, discussed more in section 8.11,

There are a handful of stative verbs which take a nominal derivational suffix *-gà?* before being able to modify nouns through the Associative construction. These are actually some of the most common modifiers, such as with size and quality. As nouns, they all occur in the Class II category.

Table 6.7: Derived Stative Verbs

Root	Nominal derivation	Gloss
'bór	à 'bórgà?	good
shí?	à shí?gà?	bad
cá	à cágà?	big
gwă'd	à gwă'dgà?	small
k̲ā'dām	à k̲ā'dāmgà?	tall

All modifiers of this type can occur both predicatively as a stative verb as well as nominally.

(378) *à* *gălàm* *'bór-á* *'bōr*
CL2 pen good-STV REDUP

'The pen is good.'

(379) *yán* *tā-'d* *ā* *gălàm* *à* *'bórgà?*
this COP:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 pen ASS.CL2 good

'This is a good pen.'

(380) *yán* *tā-'d* *ā* *gălàm* *à* *cágà?*
this COP:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 pen ASS.CL2 big

'This is a big pen.'

(381) *á'dī* *tā* *wàthí-m* *'bórgà?*
3SG COP person-ASS good

'S/he is a good person.'

6.6 Ideophones

Ideophones are words used to depict sensory imagery or sensations, often characterized by irregular phonology and morphology. They are frequently performative, accompanied by gestures.

Ideophones have not been studied in depth in Uduk, but those known so far appear to be a subtype of nouns, in that they have grammatical gender, may occur with modifiers, and fill basic grammatical roles of a clause. However, they frequently show greater degrees of syntactic independence, and can occur independently from the rest of a clause, often in final position. They do not always follow tonal restrictions described in Chapter 3, and they often are reduplicated in some way.

In the following example, *gàjà gàjà gàjà* is an ideophonic noun denoting a long thing flying through the air, such as a spear with a wobbling shaft, or a tall person waving their arms about in a flailing manner. *'Ka'būs* is more syntactically independent, and depicts something broken into pieces after a heavy impact.

(382) *kí* *dhàn* *gàjà gàjà gàjà* *yà-à* *'cé'd-kí* *bwà*
COMP great IDPH go.SING:PFV-LNK break-AD1 stomach.PART
mò *á* *'césh* *mún* *'kā'būs*
MO LOC.CL2 ground DEM.LOC.ANPH shattered

'and he flailed through the air, breaking into pieces there on the ground.'

The word for rapids, *gùgùgùgù*, is also somewhat sound symbolic, denoting a place in a river where the water is flowing rapidly. Example (383) shows the ideophone modifying another noun through an Associative construction.

(383) *yì'dé kí ḵál ā P̱īlā mò gàrà, ḵál bwày dhàn*
water NARR carry ACC.CL2 MO also, carry to great place-ASS
mò-ŋ gùgùgùgù-ny cágà tānī́
rapids–ASS big PHM

'The water also carried Philip, carried (him) to the great big place with the rapids.'

6.7 Comparative Constructions

Comparative constructions in this instance refers to comparison of inequality; similative constructions are discussed below in section 6.8. The most common way to form comparative constructions is by using finite form of the verb along with the preposition *'pén*, 'from'. It is also possible to compare items with reduplicated stative verbs with *'pén*.

(384) *mà yán 'bór-á 'bōr 'pénī́ jì kātílí*
food this good-STV REDUP from:CL1 DEF.GEN.SG yesterday

'This food is better than that of yesterday.'

(385) *gù'b mà Làm cá-'d 'pén kí jì mà*
house GEN.CL2 Lam big:IPFV-3SG from COMP DEF.GEN.SG GEN.CL2
Rǎbì
Rabi

'Lam's house is bigger than that of Rabi.'

(386) *à gǎlàm yán cá-'d 'pénī́ jǎn*
CL2 pen this big:IPFV-3SG from.CL1 DEM.MED

'This pen is bigger than that one.'

(387) *Áskōs sī'd-á sī'd 'pén ká Páwlòs*
Askos far-STV REDUP from COMP.CL2 Paulos

'Askos is further than Paulos.'

Comparisons may also be done with the phrasal verbs *p̲ī ... ē* and *bŏl ... ē*, both of which use the incorporated noun *ē*, 'eye'. These have a general meaning of 'exceed, be greater than, defeat', and are typically followed by the preposition *kī*, 'with', and the root form of the verb[2].

(388) *wàthíʔ bòl-í t̲íyā ē kī ʼbór*
man exceed:IPFV-AD2 others eye.PART with good

'The man is better than the others.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

This expression is also used to express any superlative ideas, often with the verb *ʼbár*. There is no specific means of expressing a superlative in Uduk, however.

(389) *Jìsàláñ kɨ́ yíp̲ shūm mʉ̀ p̲í ʼkwāzɨ́-m pā*
Jisalan NARR throw animal MO surpass:PFV people-ASS village
ē tɨ́ndɨ́ ʼbár mʉ̀
eye.PART day finish:PFV MO

'Jisalan threw the spears at the animals the most of any people ever.'
(Note: Yabus Uduk)

Note that these are the same verbs used for expressing the more concrete concept of defeating; in more concrete situations, however, OVA order with an Ergatively marked A is preferred.

(390) *kā ēnʼthín mánìyúnāyt p̲ī-n ā chélsī*
last night Manchester United beat:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 Chelsea
ē kī mī mò
eye.PART with do MO

'Chelsea defeated Manchester United last night.'

There is a specific phrasal verb devoted to defeating someone in running.

(391) *kātīlīʔ à Bútrʉ̀s bòl mà Yăsìr shōʼk*
yesterday CL1 Butros beat:IPFV ERG.CL2 Yasir foot.PART

'Yasir beat Butros (in running) yesterday.'

[2]Note that the *-gàʔ* nominalization found in section 6.5 is not the only way to nominalize verbs. The most common way is simply to take the root form, tonally identical to the Perfective.

6.8 Similative Constructions

Similative constructions are used to express linguistic similarity or equality. These can be phrases such as 'swims like a dolphin', but they also include functive role phrases such as 'as a doctor', or equative constructions such as 'as tall as'. The most common way of forming Similative constructions is with *mè'd*, 'hand'. This generally has the meaning of 'like', and can also be used to compare adverbs and non-stative verbs as well. This is also the primary way to express functive roles.

(392) *á'dī túr-á tūr mè'd Dhămkín*
3SG be tall-STV REDUP as Dinka

'He is as tall as a Dinka.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(393) *à k̲ōs yán cā-á cā mè'd jăn*
CL2 cup this big-STV REDUP as DEM.MED

'This cup is as big as that one.'

(394) *Árrā sī'd-á sī'd yĭsâ mè'd Páwlòs*
Arra far-STV REDUP NEG as Paulos

'Arra is not as far as Paulos.'

(395) *á'dī gŭs-ú'd ā wáç̲ā mè'd 'thám*
3SG run:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 quick as wind

'He runs as fast as the wind.'

(396) *á'dī shwā̆ mà mè'd k̲ūthār*
3SG eat:IPFV food as pig

'He eats like a pig.'

Comparisons of manner or appearance are more commonly made with the phrasal verb *wá ē*, 'to look like, be like, seem, resemble'.

(397) *à rà k̲ wà-n à ē kí bì̲p*
CL2 cloud be.like:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 eye.PART COMP cow

'The cloud seems like a cow.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

Adverbial demonstratives *kán*, *ká'dān*, *kánsān*, *káṯān*, etc. are deictic devices used to refer to the manner of an action, translated as 'like this, like that' or 'in this way, in that way'. This often has a similative meaning, particularly anaphorically.

(398) *bà* *à* *rís* *tō* *kūn* *mí-n=ì* *mò-ŋ* *'kō-n-ánā*
so CL2 many thing REL.PL do:PFV-3PL LNK place-ASS
ā *nán* *kánsān*
exist.PL:PFV-NAS-ERG.1PI IDENT DEM.PL

'So these are many things that happen where we live like this.'

These commonly occur with the verb *wá*, 'to feel, fare, be (well)'.

(399) *dì* *wà* *kán=á?*
exist.SG:PFV be.like:IPFV like.this=Q

'Is that so?'

Nyàk̲ 'to be the same' is also a verb expressing equality.

(400) *únī* *nyǎk̲* *í* *cā* *mò*
3PL be same:IPFV LOC.CL1 size MO

'They are the same size.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

6.9 Adverbial constructions

Adverbial constructions are used to modify other lexical categories than nouns, particularly verbs. Most adverbial constructions are formed with *kí* and a nominal complement. *Kī*, 'with', is also frequently used to form adverbial complements, particularly with temporal meanings. Both *kí* and *kī* change to *ká* and *kā* before Class II nouns. When they occur with stative verbs, the stative verb occurs occurs in the reduplicated form, but without the stative affix *-á*.

(401) *à* *shō'k* *hé'th-é'd* *kí* *gwà'dgwà'd*
CL2 rain rain:IPFV-3SG COMP small:ADV

'It's raining a little.'

(402) *mís ca̱'b-ā'd kí ka̱nya̱kwány*
sky sit:PFV-3SG COMP clear:ADV

'The sky is clear.'

Adverbial constructions are used for a number of construction types. One of the most common uses is that of modifying the verb in a sentence, the so-called 'manner' adverbs. In some instances, such as with *kāgàhárā* 'very, much' and *kātílí*, 'yesterday', they have become largely lexicalized, and the original meaning of *gàhárā* and *tílí* have been lost.

(403) *à wărkā yĭsā tā-n ā rìs=à, ta̱l 'dé?*
CL2 book NEG cop:PFV-3PL ACC.CL2 many=NEG, be.one:PFV one
kí lìsh
COMP only

'There are not many books; there is only one.'

(404) *dhàlì á'dī kí shwá ā nyòr kā gàhárā*
and:CL1 3SG NARR eat ERG.CL1 anger very

'And he become very angry.'

(405) *Dŭnkúl băsā gàm Băsāl kā ŋwăcā băsāyă*
Dunkul NEG get:PFV Basal with.CL2 quickly NEG

'Dunkul couldn't run as fast as Basal.' (Note: Yabus Uduk)

(406) *tā ēmbŭl jìn 'bíth-á 'bīth kā gàhárā*
COP:PFV time REL.SG hard-STV REDUP very

'it was a very difficult time.'

Quantifying expressions are also commonly formed through adverbial constructions. Some are reduplicated, such as *kā 'dé̱té? 'dé̱té?*, 'one by one, one of each'.

(407) *'kwāní 'kó-n kí dàka̱á?*
people exist.PL:PFV-3PL COMP few

'The people are few.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(408) *jàmàs bŭnī 'kó-n kā rìs*
kind POSS.3PL exist.PL:PFV-3PL with.CL2 many

'There are many kinds of them.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(409) *wà'c sí-yí-n kā 'dét́é? 'dét́é?*
fish arise:IPFV-AD2-3PL with.CL2 one.by.one

'The fish arose one by one.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(410) *'dī sí-n kí shī? shī?*
bird arise:IPFV-3PL COMP many

'The birds are flocking, coming as many.'
(Beam and Cridland 1956)

There are also a number of adverbial constructions referring to location or direction, typically formed with *kī* and *kā*.

(411) *ō'd kí shwá-kú 'pén kā 'césh dhàlì mí jìn*
fire NARR burn-VENT from with.CL2 ground and do REL.SG
mì-n à á'dī mí yĭsā dĭ-'d=à
do:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 3SG do NEG exist.SG:IPFV-3SG=NEG

'the fire burned from the ground, and what he could do he did not know.'

(412) *wàthí bĭt́-í'd kī tár*
man fall:PFV-3SG with:CL1 backward

'The man fell backwards.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(413) *únī dŏsh-ón kī mís*
3PL stand:IPFV-3PL with:CL1 up

'They stood up.'

Temporal adverbial are more heterogenous than other adverbials. Some are formed with *kī* and *kā*, but there are a number of additional lexemes which could be considered as part of an open 'adverb' lexical class.

(414) *kā gŭsh ínín tānī 'kwānī ās-án nyàk̲ká Áràb*
long ago PHM people fight:IPFV-3PL with.CL2 Arab

'A long time ago, the Uduk people were fighting with the Arabs.'

(415) *á'dī shwā-kí dhăn mà kí yíl yún*
3SG eat:IPFV-AD1 great.PL food COMP.CL1 year DEM.ANPH

'She ate a feast last year.'

(416) *dhàlì í 'dīshésān kí ēmbŭl yán tānī, 'kwānímpā*
and.CL1 LOC.CL1 nowadays COMP time this PHM Uduk
tāntānī únī măsh-án mò kí jàhànnè?
PHM 3PL marry:IPFV-3PL COMP quickly

'And up to now, to this time, the Uduk people, or Uduk, they marry very quickly.'

(417) *áhā k̲ál-kí-ná é à wărkā mò kā tíílí*
1SG bring:PFV-AD1-1SG 2SG CL2 book MO yesterday

'I brought you the book yesterday.'

(418) *é ōn-ám̄ shwāné nín*
2SG say:IPFV-ERG.1PE earlier

'We told you earlier.'

Adverbials are typically placed towards the end of the clause, but they are fairly flexible in terms of placement. The adverb *shwāné nín* refers to a short time ago, and its placement is in general flexible, as seen below. However, it is rare to insert adverbials in between arguments and the verb.

(419) *shwānénín áhā 'kósh-á ā ālbŭn ē nyàk̲ká*
recently I hit:PFV-1SG ACC.CL2 coffee eye.PART with.ACC.CL2
kó
milk

'I mixed the coffee with the milk a little bit ago.'

(420) *áhā ʼkósh-á ā ālbŭn ē shwānénín nyàk̲ká*
I hit:PFV-1SG ACC.CL2 coffee eye.PART recently with.ACC.CL2
kó
milk

'I mixed the coffee with the milk a little bit ago.'

(421) *áhā ʼkósh-á ā ālbŭn ē nyàk̲ká kó*
I hit:PFV-1SG ACC.CL2 coffee eye.PART with.ACC.CL2 milk
shwānénín
recently

'I mixed the coffee with the milk a little bit ago.'

Many adverbial expressions are formed with the verb *c̲āʼb*, 'to sit', as well as its plural root *ʼkó*, 'to sit, exist, pl.'.

(422) *à tén'dé c̲á'b kí ʼbā'th'bā'th*
CL2 day sit:IPFV COMP hot

'The day is hot.'

(423) *dhàn ō'd c̲á'b kí dwàmdwàm*
big fire sit:IPFV COMP thick

'The fire has big logs.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(424) *mís c̲á'b kí kwānykwāny*
sky sit:PFV COMP clear

'The sky is clear.'

(425) *gù'b ʼkó-n kí dàk̲á*
house exist.PL:PFV-3PL COMP few

'There are only a few houses.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

Chapter 7

Demonstratives

7.1 Introduction

The term demonstrative is used here to refer to distance-marked grammatical words which serve to relativize the location of the referents to the deictic center (Burenhult 2008). Demonstratives are represented by items in different syntactic and semantic categories, but they show a systematic differentiation in terms of spatial deixis across these categories.

The system of demonstratives in Uduk is complex, and this chapter only tries to give a brief overview of some of the functions and uses of demonstratives. It is divided into four main sections:

1. Adnominal demonstratives: demonstratives which are lexically nominal and may either head an NP or modify another noun, e.g. 'this, that'
2. Adverbial demonstratives: demonstratives which are lexically adverbial and serve to modify the manner of a verb, e.g. 'in this way, in that way'
3. Predicative demonstratives: demonstratives which are lexically verb-like, used in a predicative way to denote a location or entity, e.g. 'here is, there is'
4. Locative demonstratives: demonstratives which are lexically nominal and denote a location, e.g. 'this place, that place'

Table 7.1 shows the submorphemes used to construct demonstratives across different classes. Possible additional predicative types are discussed in more detail in section 7.5. With regard to number distinctions, forms labeled as 'singular' should be more appropriately regarded as transnumeral. These can also be used for situations in which more than one item is referred to; plural forms are more marked, and generally used when the speaker wishes to emphasize the larger amount or group somehow.

Additionally, all categories except for adverbial demonstratives have a subtype of anaphoric demonstratives, which are used endophorically to reference earlier elements of discourse.

Table 7.1: Submorphemes marking exophoric demonstrative classes

yá-	Adnominal/pronominal, singular referent
jă-	Adnominal/pronominal, singular referent
gwă-	Adnominal/pronominal, plural referent
ká-	Adverbial
'dá-	Predicative, singular referent
ná-	Predicative, plural referent
má-	Locative, general
í-	Locative, specific

The way demonstratives are morphologically structured show similarities across different classes at a sub-morphemic level, but some classes of demonstratives do lack certain forms compared to others, and some variations can occur in their use. All classes denoting exophoric use separate into two distinct series depending on their *Engagement Areas* (see e.g. Enfield (2003) for details).

The first, and most common, series is when the addressee is in the same engagement area as the speaker, and there is a single *Here-Space* used. The addressee and speaker are equidistant from the referent. The deictic distinction of the referent is solely distinguished by its distance from the single *Here-Space* found. The speaker and listener may be next to each other or then in a very close face-to-face conversation, but not in such a way that separate engagement areas could be distinguished. These demonstratives may be generally distinguished phonologically with an ending of *ān* (with tonal variations). This is referred to here as Configuration 1.

The second series of demonstratives is used when there are two separate engagement areas. The speaker and listener have a more distinct degree of separation, and referents may be closer to either the speaker, the addressee, or far from both. These demonstratives typically end in *ē* (along with tonal variations). This is referred to here as Configuration 2. Note that so far no demonstratives have been found which indicate a location close to the addressee but far from the speaker.

Within each engagement area constellation, four degrees of spatial distance from the speaker have been identified as contrasting systematically. This description follows the terminology of Gruzdeva (2007) in her description of Nivkh's locational demonstratives, from the closest to the furthest away[1].

1. Proximal (PROX)
2. Medial (MED)
3. Remote (REM)
4. Distal (DIST)

Proximal demonstratives encode a location in the area immediately around the speaker. They are able to be touched or held in some way.

[1] Gruzdeva identifies a fifth category in Nivkh, Close, but this does not appear to be relevant in the case of Uduk.

Items located in the medial area on the other hand may be pointed at but not touched. They remain visible to both the speaker and listener. Without a specific contrast, medial demonstratives also serve as a more distant form, particularly in textual situations. That is, a speaker could refer to a referent which is very far or not visible, but still use the medial form.

Remote and distal demonstratives are more commonly used in situations where contrast or emphasis is required. They encode a location which, while still visible, is further still from the medial distance.

Table 7.2 shows the submorphemes used to construct distance distinctions for both configurations. There is no difference in configurations with the proximal *-n*, which marks a general proximal location unspecified for engagement areas.

The difference between remote and distal is a matter of phoneme length distinctions. For remote distances, either the consonant or the vowel is lengthened, but not both. For distal distances, both the consonant as well as the vowel must be lengthened. As this length suggests a type of iconicity, further investigation is still required to determine how systematic the distinctions are regarding remote and distal distances. Note that the Configuration 2 morpheme, transcribed as <ē> or <é>, is another gramatical marker which has managed to retain its ATR quality despite the general systematic loss, phonetically [-ɪ̄] or [-ɪ́].

Table 7.2: Submorphemes marking distance distinctions

-n	Proximal, general		
-nh-	Proximal, focused	-ān	Configuration 1
		-ē	Configuration 2
-h-	Proximal, focused	-ān	Configuration 1
		-ē	Configuration 2
-ns-	Proximal, focused	-ān	Configuration 1
		-ē	Configuration 2
-s-	Proximal, focused	-ān	Configuration 1
		-ē	Configuration 2
-'d-	Medial	-ān	Configuration 1
		-ē	Configuration 2
-t-	Medial, focused	-ān	Configuration 1
		-ē	Configuration 2
-nt-	Medial, focused	-ān	Configuration 1
		-ē	Configuration 2
-tt-, -t-	Remote, Distal	-ān, -āān	Configuration 1
		-ē, ēē	Configuration 2

In addition to exophoric uses of demonstratives, separate demonstratives exist to mark pragmatic elements of the discourse. These demonstratives most commonly refer to anaphoric referents, coreferential with a previously discussed NP. They also are used in a recognitional sense, to activate specific shared knowledge (see e.g. Diessel 1999, p. 105 for details).

7.2 Adnominal Demonstratives

Adnominal demonstratives are primarily used to modify other nouns, although they may also head an NP directly. Adnominal demonstratives have separate forms for plural, marked forms used to emphasize a larger amount of some kind. When modifying nouns, there are no gender agreement alternations, and adnominal demonstratives always occur as the last element of an NP.

(426) *gù'b à cágà-m pém yán*
house ASS.CL2 big-ASS my this

'this big house of mine'

(427) *gù'b à cágà gì wàthí yán*
house ASS.CL2 big GEN.CL1 man this

'This man's big house'

Four degrees of distance from the speaker have been identified as contrasting systematically, although some of the more distal degrees of distance are still unclear as to their productivity. Three suffixes exist for a type of focus marking, *hān* and *sān* for proximal referents, and *-tān* in some instances for medial referents. The difference between *jă'dān*, *jăntān*, and *jătān* is not based on distance; rather, *jătān* and *jăntān* are found most commonly in contrastive focused constructions, such as when there is a second choice of some kind.

Table 7.3: Adnominal Demonstratives, Configuration 1

Singular	Plural	English
yánhān	gwănhān	Proximal, focused
yánsān	gwănsān	Proximal, focused
yáhān	gwăhān	Proximal
yásān	gwăsān	Proximal
yán	gwăn	Proximal
jă'dān	gwă'dān	Medial
jăn	gwăn	Medial
jătān	gwătān	Medial, focused
jăntān	gwăntān	Medial, focused
jătāān	gwătāān	Remote
jăttān	gwăttān	Remote
jàttáán	gwàttáán	Distal
jăttāān	gwăttāān	Distal

(428) *kā'bāl yánhān tā jì-m pīní*
sheep DEM.ADN.PROX COP DEF.GEN.SG-ASS POSS.2SG

'This sheep belongs to you.'

(429) *màmán ā cwá gwǎhān ís-ín mò dhàlì*
fruit ASS.CL2 tree DEM.ADN.PROX.PL ripen:PFV-3PL MO and
kū-n tíyá nāskínā
DEF.GEN.PL-ASS other yet

'These fruits have ripened and the other ones have still (not).'

(430) *k̲ál-ā bǎsāl ā cágà? gwǎ'dān ísē*
bring-IMP onion ASS.CL2 big DEM.ADN.MED.PL LOCSP.PROX

'Bring those big onions here.'

(431) *nyàrá jǎ'dān á'dī múr-ù màsh=á wàlà*
girl DEM.ADN.MED 3SG will.AUX-IMPRS marry=Q or
jǎ'dē?
DEM.ADN.MED2

'Is it that girl who is going to get married, or that one?'

The second configuration found is when the addressee is not close to the speaker. These demonstratives use a dual system of deictic center; one for how far the item in question is from the speaker, and another for how far the listener is as well. A more precise investigation of the semantics of the spatial deixis is still required, but a general idea seems to be that the distance is still measured from the speaker's engagement area, which the addressee is not part of.

Table 7.4: Adnominal Demonstratives, Configuration 2

Singular	Plural	English
yánhē	gwǎnhē	Proximal
yánsē	gwǎnsē	Proximal
yáhē	gwǎhē	Proximal
yásē	gwǎsē	Proximal
jǎ'dē	gwǎ'dē	Medial
jǎtē	gwǎtē	Medial
jǎntē	gwǎntē	Medial
jǎtēē	gwǎtēē	Remote
jǎttē	gwǎttē	Remote
jàttéé	gwàttéé	Distal
jǎttēē	gwǎttēē	Distal

(432) *tō ē gwǎnsān 'thīk-á 'thīk kāgàhárā 'pénī tō ē*
animal DEM.ADN.PROX.PL fat-STV REDUP very from animal
gwǎtēē
DEM.ADN.REM.PL2

'These animals are fatter than those animals over there.'

(433) *dhàl kí ánā īn-à mò bwày 'kwāní gwàttéé*
let COMP 1PI go:PFV-1PI MO way people DEM.ADN.DIST.PL

'Let's go towards those people.'

Adnominal demonstratives can occasionally have a discourse deicic function. This endophoric uses is nonetheless separate from anaphoric use, described below.

(434) *jǎn gàrà mǐ-'d-í bǎm kā'dán*
DEM.ADN.MED also do:IPFV-3SG-LOC.CL1 POSS.1PE DEM.ADV.MED
gàrà
also

'That also happens in our village like that.'

7.2.1 Anaphoric Adnominal Demonstratives

In addition to demonstratives anchored with some sort of spatial differentiation, there are a handful of additional adnominal demonstratives found in Uduk. These bear an interesting overlap in use, namely for both itive-moving entities as well as anaphoric or discourse-based elements. Movement is expressed through the combination of the anaphoric demonstrative *yún* and the locatives *nín*, *ínín*, or *ínnín*. These may either be together or discontinuous.

Note that *yín* and *yún* both use the same plural form, *gŭn*; *yín*, however, has a strictly anaphoric use and cannot refer to moving referents. *Yín* is commonly found in a recognitional sense, to activate specific shared knowledge, and it often has an idea of something 'secret' (Diessel 1999), (Himmelmann 1996). It does not necessarily have a referent in the preceding discourse.

Table 7.5: Anaphoric Adnominal Demonstratives

Singular	Plural	English
yín	gŭn	Anaphoric, recent
yún	gŭn	Anaphoric, recent; referent moving away
yúnnín	gŭnnín	Anaphoric, longer ago; moving referent further away
yúnínín	gŭnínín	Anaphoric, long ago; moving referent far away

(435) *tō yín ō-n ā ánā í nín*
thing DEM.ADN.ANPH say:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 1PI LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC

'We discussed about that thing.'

(436) *à sűrā yún ṯōr-kí-n-ḗ áā mánè?*
CL2 picture DEM.ADN.ANPH show:IPFV-AD1-NAS-ERG.2SG 1SG where

'Where is that picture you told me about?'

In example (437), the speaker is telling about a honey badger who had been going up and down a tree to collect honey from bees. After he gets to the bottom, people who were hiding steal the honey from the badger. When the badger is finally finished collecting the honey, he starts looking for the places where he had kept his honey.

(437) *á'dī kí ŋáp̱ mò mò gŭn dhŭ-n-á'dī*
3SG NARR seek:PFV MO place DEM.ADN.ANPH.PL keep-NAS-ERG:3SG
à dhàm yĭsâ 'kó-n à dhàlì p̱ī-yí'd mò
CL2 honey NEG exist.PL:PFV-3PL NEG and not.exist:IPFV-3SG MO
máñ tānî
here PHM

'He looked for the places where he had placed the honey, and there weren't any there.'

In the next example, the speaker is explaining what happens when it starts to rain, saying that people get new things as a result of the rain.

(438) *dhàlì nìmbìr ītthīnên tānî ḿmò gàm tō-n thīs*
and number two PHM GER find:PFV thing-NAS new

'And secondly getting new things.'

After introducing the idea of these things, he then gives a more specific description of how these new things appear.

(439) *dhàlì wàk̲ká shōk̲ héth-é'd mò tānî í ṯwā?ā? tō*
and if.CL2 rain rain:PFV-3SG MO PHM LOC.CL1 first thing
yún kí 'ká mò
DEM.ADN.ANPH NARR grow:PFV MO

'And if it rains, first these things start to germinate.'

In addition to anaphoricity, a second use of these demonstratives is to express movement. In example (440), the use of *yún* emphasizes the fact that the car is moving, rather than the distance from the speaker, which is unknown.

(440) *à* *àràbǐyā* *yún* *yǎ-'d* *í* *nín*
CL2 car DEM.ADN.ANPH go.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC

'That car is going there.'

Finally, there are temporal aspects to anaphoric demonstratives. As these can be used to refer to topics of discussion from the past, a natural extension of their meaning is for past times in general. In combination with *kātílí*, 'yesterday', anaphoric demonstratives refer to days further in the past than yesterday. Other temporal adverbials such as *kā dhàmò*, 'of old, long ago', also frequently combine with anaphoric demonstratives to express meanings of even further.

(441) *dhàlì* *kā* *dhàmò* *ínnín* *tāní* *mí* *màsh*
and with.CL2 old DEM.LOC.ITV.DSTL PHM do.AUX marry
'kwānímpā *kí* *pál* *ó-ò* *màsh* *kā* *gŭrùsh* *ḿmò*
Uduk COMP try say-LNK marry:PFV with.CL2 money GER
c̱ī *tō*
give:PFV thing

'and in the past, the marriage of the Uduk, it was tried to marry with money, by giving things.'

Exophoric demonstratives can also combine with temporal referents, such as *kā'thámō*, 'tomorrow', to give more specific temporal designations in the future. Medial and remote exophoric demonstratives combine with tomorrow to express days in the future; proximal exophoric demonstratives refer to events happening now or in the immediate future.

Table 7.6: Temporal phrases

Uduk	English
kā'thámō	Tomorrow
kā'thámō jătān	The day after tomorrow
kā'thámō jàttáán	Two or more days after tomorrow
kātílí	Yesterday
kātílí yún	The day before yesterday
kātílí yúnnín	Two or more days before yesterday

7.3 Adverbial Demonstratives

Adverbial demonstratives in Uduk refer to the manner of an action, 'in this way, in that way'. Proximal adverbial demonstratives in configuration 1 refer to actions done in the immediate here-space. They are common with commands, or if someone is doing something close by which you can see. For medial and further demonstratives, however, they refer to actions that a third individual is

doing. With *ká'dān*, for instance, the doer of the action is some distance away, and the speaker might be explaining to a second person next to him/her how it should be done.

Table 7.7: Adverbial Demonstratives, Configuration 1

Uduk	English
kánhān	Proximal, focused
kánsān	Proximal, focused
káhān	Proximal
kásān	Proximal
kán	Proximal
káñ	Proximal
ká'dān	Medial
kátān	Medial, focused
kántān	Medial, focused
kátāān	Remote
káttān	Remote
káttāān	Distal
kāttáán	Distal

For adverbial demonstratives in configuration 2, the speaker and addressee are not in the same space, and the distance of the action is measured from the speaker.

Table 7.8: Adverbial Demonstratives, Configuration 2

Uduk	English
kánhē	Proximal
kánsē	Proximal
káhē	Proximal
kásē	Proximal
ká'dē	Medial
kátē	Medial
kántē	Medial
kátēē	Remote
káttē	Remote
káttēē	Distal
kāttéé	Distal

(442) *kásān* *á'dī* *kí* *dì* *másān* *tāntāní* *ḿmò* *ɟōr*
DEM.ADV.PROX 3SG NARR stay DEM.LOC.PROX PHM GER wait
ā *dhàm*
ACC.CL2 bee

'In this way he stays here to wait for a bee.'

In example (443), one speaker was explaining about how fishing is forbidden

in certain instances, when the owners of ponds are not around. Another responded with the following comment:

(443) *jǎn* *gàrà* *mǐ-'d* *í* *bǎm̄* *kā'dán*
DEM.ADN.MED also do:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 POSS.1PE DEM.ADV.MED
gàrà
also

'That also happens in our village like that.'

Both speakers were in the same immediate area, but the second speaker is referring to his own village, in a more distant location.

Another common use of adverbial demonstratives is as a discourse deictic marker, giving readings like 'thus' or 'therefore'.

(444) *wàk̲kɨ́* *mɨ̀-n-ɨ́* *gàm* *kán* *tāntāní* *hāláās*
if AUX:IPFV-NAS-ERG.2SG find DEM.ADV.PROX PHM COMPL
úm *mùr-ā'd* *úr* *'kósh* *mò* *gà* *'dɨ́tɨ́* *'dɨ́tɨ́*
2PL AUX:IPFV-ERG.3SG chase:PFV kill:PFV MO one by one

'If you keep on finding (a lion), it will chase and kill you one by one.'
(Note: Yabus Uduk)

(445) *ká'dān* *tāní* *'kwāzɨ́* *kɨ́* *k̲ó,* *k̲ó* *zʉ̀p̲* *mò* *tāní*
DEM.ADV.MED PHM people NARR fear:PFV, fear:PFV lion MO PHM
zàl *shʉ̄m* *mò*
leave:PFV meat MO

'So the people were afraid, afraid of the lion and left the meat.'
(Note: Yabus Uduk)

This is particularly common in combination with the verb *wà*, 'to be like'.

(446) *dì* *wà* *kán=á?*
exist.SG be.like:PFV DEM.ADV.PROX=Q

'Is that so?'

7.4 Locative Demonstratives

Locative adverbs show the place of an event. There are two separate classification types, one for a general location, and another for a more precise location.

Both the general as well as the more specific locative demonstratives have distinctions based on the speaker-addressee configuration.

The first set of locative adverbs refers to a more general area, or non-specific direction. They are the most basic set of locational demonstratives, and are much more common in frequency than the precise locatives.

Table 7.9: General Locative Demonstratives, Configuration 1

Uduk	English
mánhān	Proximal, focused
mánsān	Proximal, focused
máhān	Proximal
másān	Proximal
mán	Proximal
máñ	Proximal
má'dān	Medial
mátān	Medial, focused
mántān	Medial, focused
mátāān	Remote
máttān	Remote
máttāān	Distal
màttáán	Distal

As with other demonstratives, a separate configuration exists when there is more than one engagement area.

Table 7.10: General Locative Demonstratives, Configuration 2

Uduk	English
mánhē	Proximal
mánsē	Proximal
máhē	Proximal
másē	Proximal
má'dē	Medial
mátē	Medial
mátēē	Remote
máttē	Remote
máttēē	Distal
màttéé	Distal

(447) *tō dǐ kí gò tāgì mátt̲t̲āān=á?*
thing exist:IPFV COMP cry until DEM.LOC.DSTL=Q

'Didn't the thing sound as far as there?' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(448) *é* *kí* *ḵūcūr=á* *shō?* *dŏō* *tān* *é* *kí* *kār-kú?*
2SG NARR soften=LOC.CL2 grass again PHM 2SG NARR put-DIR
í *'twā?* *ā* *nŏs* *jăn* *má'dān*
LOC.CL1 mouth ASS.CL2 pot DEM. DEM.LOC.MED

'You soften the grass, then you put it inside the pot there.'

(449) *kásān* *á'dī* *kí* *dì* *másān* *tāntāní* *ḿmò*
DEM.ADV.PROX 3SG NARR stay DEM.LOC.PROX PHM GER
ç̱ōr-ā *dhàm*
wait-ACC.CL2 bee

'Like that he stays there to wait for a bee.'

The second set of locatives involves a specific and more precise location. It has more clear boundaries, and would be a more easily identifiable point or area by the speaker and adressee.

Table 7.11: Precise Locative Demonstratives, Configuration 1

Uduk	English
íhān	Proximal
ísān	Proximal
í'dān	Medial
ítān	Medial
ítāān	Remote
íttān	Remote
íttāān	Distal
īttáán	Distal

The precise locatives also have the dual configuration set.

Table 7.12: Precise Locative Demonstratives, Configuration 2

Uduk	English
íhē	Proximal
ísē	Proximal
ídè	Medial
ítē	Medial
ítēē	Remote
íttē	Remote
íttēē	Distal
īttéé	Distal

(450) *ḵál-ā* *băsāl* *ā* *cágà?* *gwă'dān* *ísē*
bring-IMP onion ASS.CL2 big DEM.ADN.MED.PL DEM.LOC.PREC.PROX2

'Bring those big onions here.'

(451) *dhàlì dhămkín gŭmsēm 'pénî ī-kám bănā*
and Nuer DEM.ADN.MED.PL from PL-brother POSS.1PI
gŭm Nùwêr ísān únī kí
DEM.ADN.ANPH.PL Nuer DEM.LOC.PREC.PROX 3PL NARR
ī-yú
go.PL-VENT

'and these Nuer from those of our brothers the Nuer there they came.'

7.4.1 Anaphoric Locative Demonstratives

Locative Demonstratives also have three endophoric demonstratives, used both in a anaphoric sense as well as the recognitional sense described earlier. Movement does not play a role with anaphoric locatives, however, and there is no equivalent to *yín* for specific recognitional use. There is one additional demonstrative, *ínnīī* or *ńnīī*, which appears to be related to both anaphoric referents as well as exophoric referents, in that it is a place spoken of and known by the speech participants, which is far away.

Table 7.13: Anaphoric Locative Demonstratives

mún	Anaphoric, recent
múnnín	Anaphoric, longer ago
múnínín	Anaphoric, long ago
ínníī	Anaphoric, distal location

(452) *dhàm mùr-í p̲ē-yú 'pénî mún tāntānî á'dī kí dì*
bee fut-LOC fly-ITV from DEM.LOC.ANPH PHM 3SG NARR stay
c̲ā'b híl 'té?
sit watch just

'The bee will fly from there and he (meanwhile) stays and watches.'

(453) *Àbĭátēr dĭ-'d nyàk̲k-úm á píjè mún=á?*
Abiater exist.SG:IPFV-3sg with-2PL LOC.CL2 outside DEM.LOC.ANPH=Q?
Nyĕê, ā c̲í'dē
Yes, IDENT DEM.V.MED2

'Abiater is there with you outside? Yes, (he's) here.'

7.5 Predicative Demonstratives

Predicative demonstratives are verb-like demonstratives identifying or presenting a referent or location. They do not conjugate for tense, aspect, and agreement marking is limited to singular or plural referents. If the overt referent directly precedes the verbal demonstrative, the identification particle *ā* attaches to the end of the NP referred to.

There is some confusion regarding the forms further than proximal; a preliminary table is given below. Demonstratives beginning with *ci* may end up being simply a dialectal variation of adnominal demonstratives plus the identification marker *ā*. Common variations on the distal forms include *c̣i*, *c̣a*, and *ca*.

Table 7.14: Predicative Demonstratives

Singular	Plural	English
ā ’dán	ā nán	Proximal
ā ’dáhān	ā náhān	Proximal
ā ’dánhān	ā nánhān	Proximal
ā ’dánsān	ā nánsān	Proximal
ā ’dásān	ā násān	Proximal
ā cí’dān	ā ní’dān	Medial
ā cítān	ā nítān	Medial
ā cíttān	ā níttān	Remote
ā cítāān	ā nítāān	Remote
ā cīttáán	ā nīttáán	Distal
ā cíttāān	ā níttāān	Distal

(454) *à wǎrkā-m pīní ā ’dáhān*
CL2 book-ASS POSS.2SG IDENT DEM.VB.PROX

‘Here is your book.’

(455) *mámān ā mǎŋgà? à náhān*
fruit ASS.CL2 mango IDENT DEM.VB.PL.PROX

‘These are mango fruits.’

(456) *gù’b pém ā c̣áán*
house POSS.1SG IDENT DEM.VB.MED

‘There is my house.’

(457) *à rìs cwá yán yì'dé? ā nít̲ān*
CL2 many tree along water IDENT DEM.VB.PL.MED

'Those are the trees along the riverside.'

(458) *à rìs k̲ā'bāl ā nán*
CL2 many sheep IDENT DEM.VB.PL.PROX

'There are a lot of sheep.'

Predicative demonstratives also have common extensions into discourse deictics, similar to adnominal demonstratives. They are used to summarize a proposition in some way. They are self-referential, referring to a linguistic unit of speech of some kind, or information given by the speaker.

(459) *bà tā gò lòlòp̲ à 'dán gòm yáp̲*
so COP:PFV story IDENT DEM.VB.PROX about porcupine

'So here was a story about a porcupine.'

In example (460), the speaker is discussing Uduk marriage and how it was first conducted in the past, compared to the present.

(460) *bà tō ā 'dán jìn dǐ-'d í*
so thing IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL.SG exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1
bwàmăn 'kwānímpā ñtágà 'dīsháñ
among Uduk until now

'So this is what happens among the Uduk people up to now.'

(461) *bà à rǐs tō kūn mí-n-ì mò-ŋ*
so CL2 many.PL thing REL.PL happen:PFV-NAS-LNK place-ASS
'kō-n-ánā ā nán kánsān
exist.PL:PFV-NAS-ERG.1PI IDENT DEM.VB.PL.PROX DEM.PROX.ADV

'So these are many things that happen where we live like this.'

There are also devoted predicative demonstratives for configuration 2; however, a list of these predicative demonstratives should be seen as preliminary. There is some evidence indicating that these forms may actually involve a more precise identification as opposed to a general one. If such is the case, then there may be two more sets, one for the configuration 2 of general predicative demonstratives, and another for the more precise versions in configuration 1. The most logical choices for these, however, following *'dáhe* and *'díhān*, were not viewed as viable forms by my consultants.

Table 7.15: Predicative Demonstratives, Configuration 2

Singular	Plural	English
ā ’díhē	ā níhē	Proximal
ā ’dísē	ā nísē	Proximal
ā cí’dē	ā ní’dē	Medial
ā cítē	ā nítē	Medial
ā cíttē	ā níttē	Remote
ā cítēē	ā nítēē	Remote
ā cīttéé	ā nīttéé	Distal
ā cíttēē	ā níttēē	Distal

(462) *Àbǐátēr dǐ-’d nyàk̲k-úm á píjè mún=á?*
Abiater exist.SG:IPFV-3SG with-2PL LOC.CL2 outside DEM.LOC.ANPH=Q?
Nyěě̀, ā c̲í’dē
Yes, IDENT DEM.VB.MED

‘Abiater is there with you outside? Yes, (he’s) here.’

Anaphoric Predicative Demonstratives

There are three anaphoric predicative demonstratives. Similar to other predicative demonstratives, these occur with the clitic *ā* and identify or present a noun in some way. These are also used with moving objects.

In contrast to other anaphoric markers, anaphoric predicative demonstratives appear to be fairly rare, and examples of their use are limited.

Table 7.16: Anaphoric Predicative Demonstratives

Singular	Plural	English
’dún	nŭn	Anaphoric, recent; moving referent
’dúnnín	nŭnnín	Anaphoric, longer ago; moving referent further away
’dúnínín	nŭnínín	Anaphoric, long ago; moving referent far away

(463) *ká jǎ-ā ’dún í dòr-kí é*
COMP.CL2 who.PL-IDENT DEM.VB.ANPH LOC.CL1 beat:PFV-AD2 2SG
kán mò?
DEM.ADV.PROX MO

‘(tell us) ...who was it, that beat you?’

(464) *'kwāní kūn í-n mò kā wáɕā? ā nŭ̌n*
people REL.PL go:IPFV-3PL MO quickly IDENT DEM.VB.ANPH.PL

'Those are the people going (quickly) away.'

(465) *à dŏ́kúmēn ā 'dún yắ-ká-'d*
CL2 document IDENT DEM.VB.ANPH go.SG:IPFV-AD1-3SG
ínín
DEM.LOC.ITV

'The document is on the way (to you).'

(466) *ārí ā 'dún p̲é-'d í mís*
DIM.SG.CL1 IDENT DEM.VB.ANPH fly:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 sky
ínín
DEM.LOC.ITV

'There is the bird (lit: little one) up there in the sky.'

Chapter 8

Verbal Predicates

8.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on describing the basic morphological structure of the verb root and its affixes in Uduk, as well as the aspectual-directional uses of Uduk verbal morphology. Verbs are used to express actions, processes, and states encoded in a predicative construction.

First, an overview of possible affixes and grammatical morphemes of the VP is given. An important distinction is the structural opposition between finite and non-finite verb forms, which do not have the same possibilities in terms of morphological marking. After describing the verb roots and their tone classes, finite verbal morphology is then introduced. All finite verbs must be obligatorily marked for a type of aspect through suprasegmental marking on the verb stem; further AD[1] markers may be indicated by suffixes. Koman languages use grammatical markers on the verb which serve two distinct but related functions, to mark the location or direction of an action, and to mark the way the situation depicted by the verb is viewed or experienced; that is, what part of the situation is being referred to, and how can the event or action be broken down into phases. Spatial deixis and aspect are thus heavily intertwined. As Uduk lacks a morphological means to express tense or mood on the verb, AD is used as an abbreviation in lieu of TAM to refer to these grammatical categories distinguished on the verb.

After the description of aspect-directional morphology, inflectional patterns based on person-marking agreement is introduced, including differences based on constituent order. Number-marking alternations within the VP are also described in this section.

Two sections which fit in between finite and non-finite are then introduced, the Prospective form of the verb, a marked construction formed with a type of

[1]Credit must be given here to Manuel Otero, who not only created the term AD (Aspect-Directional), but whose initial work on Komo TAM markers spurred me on to investigate areas of spatial deixis in the verb which I had not previously realized. Through his advice, suggestions, and direction, I have come to a much greater understanding of Uduk's Aspectual-Directional marking than I ever would have otherwise, particularly with the spatial aspects of the verb system.

reduplication used for intended activities, as well as the Impersonal, a marker inhibiting the expression of an overt S or A argument. The Impersonal may be used with both finite as well as non-finite forms of the verb.

Non-finite morphological morphemes include two additional suffixes marking directionality as well as the Imperative; non-finite forms of the verb do not use agreement marking or tonal alternations on the verb root.

Finally, stative verbs are treated separately, as they are encoded in a distinct inflectional class.

8.2 The Structure of Verb Forms

This section focuses on the structure of verb forms, initially focusing on the maximal projection of the verb core, separated out into finite and non-finite forms, followed by the maximal projection of the finite verb complex, including reduplication, phrasal verb satellites, and particles. Stative verbs are viewed as a distinct and separate subclass of verbs, addressed in section 8.11.

As the opposition between finite and non-finite plays an important role in Uduk grammar, it is worth defining the criteria used for separating the two types.

According to Trask (1993), a finite verb is "...a form of a verb or auxiliary which can in principle serve as the only verb form in a sentence, and which typically carries the maximum in morphological marking for such categories as tense and agreement permitted in a language" (Trask 1993, pp. 103-104).

Uduk finite verb forms have agreement marking with S/A through suffixation on the verb, aspectual changes through suprasegmental modification of the verb stem, and are able to stand independently in simple declarative sentences. There are two suffixes marking aspect and directionality, labelled here as AD1 and AD2 as their uses are complex.

Non-finite forms on the other hand do not have agreement marking or tonal changes, and tend to occur in 'deranked' constructions, or constructions in which there are multiple predicates, and one of the predicates is reduced in rank. They occur in independent declarative sentences only in marked situations, such as Imperative constructions. There are also three suffixes which may occur only on non-finite forms of the verb, Imperative *-ī*, Itive *-kú*, and Ventive *-ú*. AD1 and AD2 markers may occur on both finite as well as non-finite verb forms.

A comparison of the two structures is given below, (467) showing a typical finite construction and (468) showing a typical non-finite construction. The difference between these two particular constructions has to do with where they would occur. Example (467) is a single independent predicate which could stand on its own. It is a fully formed sentence. Example (468) would not generally occur in isolation, however, instead forming part of a longer narrative in some way. It would take its aspect marking from an earlier finite sentence.

(467) *à ḳó'bā īs-í'd mò*
CL2 maize ripen:IPFV-3SG MO

'The maize has ripened.'

(468) *à ḳó'bā kí ís mò tānī́*
CL2 maize NARR ripe MO PHM

'The maize has ripened.'

8.2.1 Finite verb core

The Uduk finite verb core consists maximally of the verb stem, Imperfective and Perfective aspects marked suprasegmentally on this stem, two Aspect-Directional markers, and argument cross-referencing for S and A.

Table 8.1: Structure of finite verb forms

Stem (IPFV & PFV)	AD1, AD2	AGR, IMPRS

IPFV Imperfective (marked tonally on root)
PFV Perfective (marked tonally on root)
AD1 Aspect-Directional *-kí-*
AD2 Aspect-Directional *-í-* (*-yí-*)
AGR Agreement Concord with S/A
IMPRS Impersonal *-ù* (*-nù*)

In each position, only one of the two options is available; this is self-evident for suprasegmental tone changes on the root, but less so for the AD markers, which bear a wide variety of potential meanings.

On the stem itself we find two tonal possibilities, one for Imperfective and one for Perfective. The first position after the stem is for the AD markers *-í* and *-kí*, both of which have a wide range of uses with aspect, direction, and to some extent valency.

The second position after the stem is used for marking agreement with S or A arguments which are governed by the verb. The specifics of agreement marking are complex, and addressed in section 8.6. Person marking agreement is obligatory in A-Voice constructions, but does not occur in O-Voice. The Impersonal *-ù* may also occur in the same position of the verb core, suppressing any overt mention of an S or A argument. O arguments retain their syntactic form and case, and A may not be expressed in an oblique construction. The Impersonal is possible with intransitive constructions and constructions in O-Voice.

8.2.2 Non-finite verb core

The Uduk non-finite verb core parallels the finite verb to some extent, but there are three additional affixes in the position after the stem, and only the Impersonal may occur in the second position.

Table 8.2: Non-finite verb forms

Stem	VENT, ITV, AD1, AD2, IMP	IMPRS

VENT Ventive suffix *-úʔ*, *-yúʔ*
ITV Itive derivational suffix *-kúʔ*
AD1 Aspect-Directional *-kí-*
AD2 Aspect-Directional *-í-* (*-yí-*)
IMP Imperative suffix *-ī*
IMPRS Impersonal *-ù* (*-nù*)

There is one additional small but important structural difference. Finite verbs which end in a vowel in O-Voice constructions add a nasal to the end of the verb, the meaning of which is unknown.

(469) *á'dī shwá-n ā nyòr*
3SG eat:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 anger

'He is getting upset.'

Non-finite forms of the verb, however, do not add this nasal marker, suggesting that its origin may lie with agreement marking.

(470) *á'dī kí shwá ā nyòr*
3SG NARR eat ERG.CL1 anger

'He is getting upset.'

8.2.3 Verb Complex

Beyond the core verb structure, there are discontinuous elements of the verb complex. Discontinuous elements include incorporated nouns, called Partarguments, as well as grammatical particles and reduplicated verb structures. Clause structures are discussed in more detail in section 9.1; this section only focuses on the parts of the VP outside of the verb core.

The following chart gives an example of possible finite verbal forms and their combinations in Uduk.

Table 8.3: Maximal projection of Verb Complex

Verb Core	(OBJ)	PART	PTCL

OBJ Object(s) of clause
PART Partargument(s)
PTCL Grammatical particles such as *mò*

Incorporated nouns (Partarguments) are typically body parts which either function as verbal classifiers or then change the basic lexical meaning of the verb. They have somewhat flexible positions, but they occur most commonly after objects and before grammatical particles. Verbs with incorporated nouns retain the incorporated part also when they occur in deverbalized or non-finite forms.

The VP is typically ended with grammatical particles, which interact heavily with AD marking. The particle *mò* is particularly important in this position. Prepositional phrases and adverbials have some flexibility in terms of placement, and may occur before or after grammatical particles.

8.3 The Verb Stem

Uduk verb stems are formed from the verb root, or *masdar* (following e.g. Haspelmath 1995), which can be considered the most basic form of the verb, as well as its citation form.

The citation form of a verb is flexible in its use, and can be both nominal as well as forming the root of predicative structures; some examples of nominalized verb roots may be seen in example (471):

(471) *màsh* *kī* *gwà'd* *yán* *tāní* *bwày* *mí-m* *pí'dī*
marry with.CL1 small DEM.PROX PHM way do-ASS POSS.3SG
jìn *shí?-í'd* *ā* *'dáhān sān*
REL.SG bad:PFV-3SG IDENT DEM.VB.PROX

'This early marriage, this is how it is bad (lit: the way of its doing which is bad).'

Like noun roots, verb roots in Uduk are most commonly monosyllabic CVC or CV. Disyllabic roots do exist in a more limited fashion, but with heavier restrictions compared to monosyllabic roots. Disyllabic verb roots never end in a vowel, and they invariably have either all L-toned syllables or all M-toned syllables, depending on the initial consonant of the root. There are no disyllabic verb roots with dissimilar tones, nor are there roots with a H-tone of any type, including contours. There are no trisyllabic roots. Table 8.4 gives some examples of different syllabic structures of verb roots.

Verb roots in Uduk may occur with one of four tones, L, M, H, or LH, giving five tone classes in total. As Uduk verb roots make use of a suprasegmental tonal

Table 8.4: Verbal syllabic structure

V	ī	‘to go, pl.’
VC	ás	‘to fight’
VCVC	īsīr	‘to be moldy’
VCCVC	āŋkāl	‘to stagger’
CV	c̱ī	‘to give’
CVC	bù’th	‘to grasp, hold’
CVCVC	ḵūcūr	‘to soften’
CVCCVC	’dāŋkāl	‘to roll’

alternation on the verb root for aspectual changes, it is important to know the tone class of the verb.

Table 8.5: Verb tone classes

Class	Base tone	IPFV tone	Example, PFV	Example, IPFV	English
1	M	H	pē’th	pé’th	‘to laugh’
2	L	LH	gàm	gǎm	‘to find, meet’
3	H	M	cép	cēp	‘to prepare beer’
4	LH	L	lǒl	lòl	‘to gather honey’
5	H	L	wár	wàr	‘to become angry’

For the most part, tonal alternations are predictable, with one notable exception. The tone of the Imperfective form of the verb in both class 4 as well as class 5 is L, so it is not possible to predict which class the verb is based on the Imperfective. There are thus two classes of verbs with H-toned roots, those beginning with voiceless obstruents and those beginning with voiced sonorants; these otherwise pattern similarly to each other.

Disyllabic verbs roots have more limited tonal patterns, and are invariably M.M or L.L, depending on the syllable onset. The Imperfective tonal shape of verbs with the L.L tone pattern is LH.H rather than LH.LH; that is, the tone of the second syllable is H rather than LH. This can trigger a change in the consonants; the verb *wùgùr* ‘to wobble’, changes to *wŭkúr* in the Imperfective. The onset of the second syllable generally falls into the same category for tone-plosive interaction as the first syllable, but this is not absolute. For more details on these rules, see section 3.3.

Table 8.6: Disyllabic Verb Roots

Class	Base tone	IPFV tone	Example, PFV	Example, IPFV	English
1	MM	HH	thēnthēm	thénthém	‘to melt’
2	LL	LHH	bèrè’th	bĕré’th	‘to move a fire from a cooking pot’

Some verb roots differentiate whether the subject (or object) is plural or not; a list of known verbs differentiating number is given in the table below. As can be seen in table 8.7, plural roots sometimes match more than one singular form.

Table 8.7: Singular and Plural verb roots

Number differentiated in S/A		
Singular	Plural	English
yà	ī	'to go'
c̱ā'b	'kó	'to sit, stay, keep (doing), remain'
dì	'kó	'to be located, to sit, stay, exist'
bǎth	'cētḥ	'to follow'
jǐ	dhù	'to rule, govern, care for, keep (something)'
kār	dhù	'to put down, set down, keep (something)'
gùs	sō	'to run, flow (of liquids)'
pīsh	sō	'to flee, run'
Number differentiated in O		
Singular	Plural	English
ḵál, gù	'dō	To take, bring'
kār	dhù	'to put down, set down'
bǐṯ	ṯāk	To cast, throw away'

Plural roots do also occur in non-finite forms, such as with auxiliary verbs or with Narrative constructions.

(472) *dhàlì 'thúr mè'd tāní únī kí ī mò*
and wash:PFV hand PHM 3PL NARR go.PL MO

'And (when they) washed their hands they left.'

8.4 Perfectivity

Uduk finite verbs are organized into a binary Perfective/Imperfective opposition, distinguished by tonal alternations on the verb root and variations in agreement marking. The semantic distinctions of these forms have proven to be somewhat elusive at times, particularly when they do not occur in combination with AD marking. Furthermore, the use of these forms is complex, dependent on the inherent semantics of the lexical verb as well as the combination of other grammatical markers, in particular the particle *mò*.

Mò is a complex grammatical particle which plays an important role in contributing to the meaning of an event construal. It potentially stems from the lexical word *mò* meaning 'place', but the use of the particle *mò* has undergone heavy grammaticalization if so. Its uses are described in more detail in sections 8.4.1, 8.4.2, and 8.5 below, but as a general summary, *mò* is a particle in positive predicative constructions which connects an action with an event boundary in some way. This can be simply a means of saying 'start to', but it is also used as an explanation or connection to a previous event. It also can refer to the results of an action, or show that as a result of a first event, a second event transpired.

The form I label as Imperfective refers to a tonal 'reverse' of the Perfective determined by the verb class (see e.g. 8.5 for details on the tone classes). Agreement markers for verbs in the Imperfective occur invariably high-toned; in some instances, this also appears on the verb root. The Imperfective is the most frequent finite form of the verb, and it has great flexibility as to its nuances. Events in the Imperfective are unbounded, seen from a process-internal perspective. The Imperfective can refer to events in the past, events in the present, events which will be in the future, events happening regularly, events denoting a process.

The term I label as Perfective refers to the form of the verb in which the stem tone is identical to its citation form. Agreement markers for verbs in the Perfective aspect copy the immediately preceding tone; if this is a contour, only the last part of the tone is copied. The Perfective gives the idea of boundedness in some way. An event marked with the Perspective aspect gives the idea that the event fits within some larger more dynamic perspective. This includes the termination or initiation of a situation, an event which has already started, or an event which is undergoing a transition of states in some way. It also includes punctual or instantaneous situations of short duration.

The two different tonal shapes in combination with the presence or absence of *mò* gives four possible constructions:

IPFV, –MO The most frequent and generalized form of a finite verb. Default meaning of the current time, but with the proper context has high amounts of flexibility.

IPFV, +MO Refers to the initiation of an event, or an event resulting from something else. Used when the cause of the action is known.

PFV, –MO Heavily restricted in its use, and many verbs cannot take the PFV shape without *mò*. In some instances, it can mean the termination of an event, or can refer to a single instance of an event.

PFV, +MO Similar to the IPFV +MO in that it is used when the cause of the action is known. Could be sometimes translated as 'It's that...', as an explanation.

A comparison of the two tonal forms in a prototypical use may be seen in examples (473) and (474). Both examples use *mò*.

(473) *á'dī gŭs-ú'd mò*
3SG run.SG:IPFV-3SG MO

'S/he's running (away).'

(474) *á'dī gùs-ù'd mò*
3SG run.SG:PFV-3SG MO

'S/he already ran away.'

Similar uses may be found with examples (475) and (476)[2]. The Imperfective refers to the process of the food being made, whereas the Perfective marks the change of initial state results in a finished action.

(475) *mà* *mì-nù*
food do:IPFV-IMPRS

'The food is being made.'

(476) *mà* *mí-nù* *mò*
food do:PFV-IMPRS MO

'The food was just made.'

With examples (477) and (478), both actions refer to the idea of the speaker sitting down. However, example (477) views the event as an inherently unbounded state, construed from within. It does not pay attention to any possible or imaginable boundaries of the situation, or any external stimulus. Example (478) on the other hand marks that there was a change in initial state of the action. The speaker has moved from standing to sitting.

(477) *áhā* *ɕá'b-á*
1SG sit:IPFV-1SG

'I am sitting.'

(478) *áhā* *ɕā'b-á* *mò*
1SG sit:PFV-1SG MO

'I sat down.'

Examples (479) and (480) show similar ways of conceptualizing the events, with the Imperfective referring to a more generalized meaning and the Perfective specifically referring to the event initiation in some way.

(479) *áhā* *dǒsh-á*
1SG stand:IPFV-1SG

'I am standing.'

(480) *áhā* *dòsh-á* *mò*
1SG stand:PFV-1SG MO

'I stopped.'

[2]Note that it would not be possible to use the Perfective form of 'do' without *mò* here.

8.4.1 Imperfective

The bare Imperfective is the most frequent finite form of the verb, and has the most generalized meaning. It is formed by using the tonal reverse of the root tone. Agreement markers for verbs in the Imperfective aspect occur invariably high-toned. It gives a general idea of something happening at the time of reference, unspecified for duration. Without a specified time, the default interpretation is that of present tense.

(481) *à múgù-ḿ pém lòl-ó'd ā dhàm í*
CL2 friend-ASS POSS.1SG collect:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 honey LOC.CL1
mís cwá
up tree

'My friend is collecting honey at the top of the tree.'

(482) *áhā sām-á ō'd*
1SG warm:IPFV-1SG fire

'I'm warming myself on the fire.'

(483) *à nyùrúny ḉór-ó'd ā 'bú'th í 'pény cwá*
CL2 hyena wait:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 LOC.CL1 under tree

'The hyena is waiting for the monkey under the tree.'

(484) *'kwāní ās-án*
people fight:IPFV-3PL

'People are fighting.'

General information is typically given with the Imperfective form of the verb, without *mò*.

(485) *dhàlì ārí 'dī-ŋ kámú yùk̲-kù kí bŭrē?,*
and DIM.SG.CL1 bird-ASS other call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP bee-eater
á'dī sī'dā shwắ-'d ā dhàm
3SG also eat:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 bee

'And another small bird called a bee-eater, it also eats bees.'

Habitual activities also use the Imperfective without *mò*, particularly those with specified times. In example (486), it is not possible to add *mò*.

(486) *ám̄ ’kōshá mìyà kā yémpā gòmà ī’th*
1PE kill:IPFV-1PE goat.PL with.CL2 always for.CL2 Christmas

‘We always kill a goat for Christmas.’

The Imperfective used with past-tense time adverbials gives a general reading of the event. It does not say how long the event lasted, or whether it persists to the present day or not.

(487) *kā gŭsh ínín tānī ’kwānī ās-án nyàk̲ká Áràb*
A long time ago PHM people fight:IPFV-3PL with.CL2 Arab

‘A long time ago, the Uduk people were fighting with the Arabs.’

In combination with *mò*, the Imperfective shows a reason for the action, or a trigger. It refers to the event as a generalized process without any specific boundedness or changes, but it also places the event within a large context. It often would be translated as ‘start to’.

Example (488) was said in an online conversation which was interrupted. It can be viewed as a resumption of the conversation, or a description of the reason why the conversation was interrupted.

(488) *à shábágà ’cīth-ī’d mò*
CL2 network cut:IPFV-3SG MO

‘The network was disconnected.’

Example (489) is of cutting a tree/trees. It does not mention whether the action is finished, whether there is one or many trees, or whether it is complete or not.

(489) *áhā jèp̲-á cwá*
1SG cut:IPFV-1SG tree

‘I cut down a/the tree(s), I am cutting down a/the tree(s).’

Example (490) parallels example (489) in its reading, but suggests that there was a trigger for the event. Perhaps the tree fell in the way of a path, and as a result, needed to be cut.

(490) *áhā jèp̲-á cwá mò*
1SG cut:IPFV-1SG tree MO

‘I cut down a/the tree(s), I am cutting down a/the tree (because of something).’

8.4.2 Perfective

The Perfective form of a verb focuses on the idea of an event's boundedness in some way. This includes the termination or initiation of a situation, an event which has already started, or an event which is undergoing a transition of states in some way. Punctual events of short duration are also frequently marked with the Perfective. The Perspective aspect gives the idea that the event fits within some larger more dynamic perspective.

There is a lexical restriction with many verbs preventing the use of the Perfective aspect without *mò* or additional AD markers, seen in examples (491) and (492) below.

(491) *à* *'cí* *'kūṯ-ú'd*
CL2 child cough:IPFV-3SG

'The child coughed.'

(492) **à* *'cí* *'kúṯ-ú'd*
*CL2 child cough:PFV-3SG

'The child coughed (intended meaning).'

One instance in which it is possible to use the Perfective without *mò*, however, is to refer to a single individual action as a whole. This is common with questions or events in the more distant past.

(493) *é* *gàm-àn* *à* *kām* *pém=á?*
2SG find:PFV-2SG ACC.CL2 brother POSS.1SG=Q

'Have you met my brother?'

In the following example, *kā címún*, a contraction of *kī à cím yún*, 'on that day', refers to an undefined time in the non-immediate past. This use of the Perfective is preferred for events in the more distant past, and refers to the event in its entirety.

(494) *nyěè,* *gàmkà* *kā* *címún*
yes, find:PFV-ERG.1SG with.CL2 other.day

'Yes, I met him the other day.'

If the event is more recent, such as a few hours ago, then the Imperfective is preferred.

(495) *nyěè, gǎm-kā* *shwànénín*
yes, find:IPFV-ERG.1SG recently

'Yes I met him a bit ago; I just met him.'

In some instances, the Perfective can also indicate a cessation of activity.

(496) *à* *'cí* *gò-'d*
CL2 child cry:IPFV-3SG

'The child has just stopped crying.'

The Perfective occurs far more frequently in combination with the particle *mò*. It is typically used for a reason or explanation for a situation, or to mark an event's participation in a greater context.

In the Imperfective, example (497), with or without *mò*, would refer to the simple act of a man drinking beer.

(497) *wàthí* *p̲ī-'d* *ā* *sū*
man drink:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 beer

'The man is drinking beer.'

The Perfective form of man drinking beer would not be possible without *mò*. With *mò*, however, the meaning changes, as seen in example (498). This form would be used if the man was acting strange, and you are explaining the reason to someone else.

(498) *wàthí* *p̲í-'d* *ā* *sū* *mò*
man drink:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 beer MO

'The man must be drunk (e.g. he is doing something unexpected).'

The combination of the Perfective and *mò* can sometimes give an identical reading to the Imperfective with *mò*, particularly with verbs which are more momentaneous in their meaning. Examples (499) and (500) do not differ in their meaning; both would be used only when the speaker knows what caused the coughing.

(499) *à* *'cí* *'kūt̲-ú'd* *mò*
CL2 child cough:IPFV-3SG MO

'The child coughed (because of something).'

(500) *à 'cí 'kúṯ-ú'd mò*
CL2 child cough:PFV-3SG MO

'The child coughed (because of something).'

Both the Imperfective as well as the Perfective forms of the verb could be used with (501), for example; the focus is on the transition or trigger of the action.

(501) *à 'cí 'bēr ā 'bān rǎḵkí à 'cī*
CL2 child open:IPFV ERG.CL1 temple.PART causing CL2 child
kúṯ-ú'd mò
cough:PFV-3SG MO

'The child had a headache, causing the child to cough.'

A similar situation arises with (502) and (503). There is no difference due to the tone change, but both constructions focus on the impetus of the event. The man has started to dig a hole because his friend asked him to, for instance.

(502) *wàthí cwǎny jùs mò*
man dig:IPFV hole MO

'The man has started to dig a hole.'

(503) *wàthí cwāny jùs mò*
man dig:PFV hole MO

'The man has started to dig a hole.'

8.5 Aspect-Directionals

There are two Aspect/Directional (AD) suffixes, AD1 *kí* and AD2 *í*, which occur in paradigmatic opposition immediately after the stem. Both affixes can convey a range of aspectual and deictic meanings, and a single construction can often have more than one interpretation depending on the context. The link between aspect and spatial deixis as an inflectional category appears to be common to all Koman languages. Directionality is generally expressed with derivational morphemes, so Koman languages are perhaps typologically unusual in having inflectional morphemes on the verb to mark spatial deixis. Note that Uduk has two additional related markers which occur on non-finite forms of the verb which are used strictly to mark spatial deixis. Thus, of the four possible affixes, all of them can mark directionality in some way, but only the AD1 and AD2 markers also have aspectual meaning extensions.

In general, *kí* is used for motion away from the deictic center, or to mark events which have a relation to the relative past. Directionally, it refers to going towards a known location, or going somewhere to do something. It can also be used for an action in the current location which someone does, where the doer of the action remains while others then depart.Aspectually, it shows a connection to the recent past in some way. One use is persistive, 'to keep on doing', or 'to continue to do'. It can be refer to doing actions again, with an iterative or pluractional use. It can also refer to 'already' doing or having done an action. *Kí* is also used to form benefactive constructions. It can occur with either tone shape, with or without *mò*.

The AD2 marker *í* is used for motion towards the deictic center, or to mark events which have a relation to the relative future. Directionally, it refers to coming towards the speaker or deictic center, or to refer to an action which happened elsewhere, with the doer of the action in the current location. Aspectually, it can mark an event happening now, something similar to a progressive or durative. It can also be used to focus on the right boundary of an event, such as being the trigger of a subsequent event; as a result of action X, Y WILL happen. Note that in most instances, *í* changes to a glide, adding a copy of the verb root.

In combination with *mò* and the two tonal shapes, this gives eight possible constructions:

kí + IPFV, –MO Directionally refers to going towards another location. Aspectually refers to a recently initiated action the speaker did not see which continues or persists, or something which has 'already' started.

kí + IPFV, +MO Marks an event which has started in the past which has current relevance. The event may persist, or it may have finished but still be important to the situation. It can also mark the near termination of an event, particularly with motion verbs.

kí + PFV, –MO Heavily restricted in its use, and many verbs cannot take the PFV shape with *kí* without *mò*. Possible in some instances to mark pluractionality or repetitions of an event.

kí + PFV, +MO Marks a completed or finished event, frequently with a connotation of then leaving to another location. Often translates to 'already'.

í + IPFV, –MO Directionally refers to coming towards the speaker or deictic center. Aspectually refers to an event happening at the current moment, which started recently and was witnessed by the speaker.

í + IPFV, +MO Marks an event recently started resulting from something else, or can sometimes refer to an event which is near completion.

í + PFV, –MO Marks an event which happened in another location, with the subject of that event now in the current location. It can also be used to mark a trigger for a subsequent event.

í + PFV, +MO Marks an event which happened in another location, with the subject of that event now in the current location. Aspectually,

it marks connections or transitions for both boundaries: as a result of X, action happened, triggering Y.

Both markers are highly affected by the presence of rounded vowels, and frequently change vowel quality when occurring before or after rounded vowels. *Kí* can also change its vowel quality to non-rounded vowels without a change in meaning. Examples (504) and (505) have no difference in meaning. The fact that the quality of the vowel is lowered to *o* (phonetically [ɔ]) suggests that the effects of ATR may still play a role synchronically in some instances, as the expectation would be for the vowel *i* would be to change to *u* when rounded. However, the precise mechanics are still not well understood, as a -ATR *ɨ* would change to *ʉ*, not *ɔ*.

(504) *à* *dhàm* *wù'c-kí-'d*
CL2 bee sting:IPFV-AD1-3SG

'The bee started to sting the people again.'

(505) *à* *dhàm* *wù'c-kó-'d*
CL2 bee sting:IPFV-AD1-3SG

'The bee started to sting the people again.'

8.5.1 AD1 Kí

The AD marker *kí* is a relatively common suffix with numerous meanings, the most common of which are mentioned below:

- Movement away (verbs of motion)
- Simultaneous activity of an action and movement away (verbs of non-motion)
- Actor staying to do an action while others leave
- Action beginning in 'past' and still happening now (keep on or continue to do)
- Do something again
- Do something already (start and still in process of)
- Do something already (and have stopped)
- Increase valency by adding a beneficiary to the construction

With verbs of motion, it can encode a particular deictic point separated from the speaker. It parallels configuration 2 demonstratives in that the speaker and addressee are not in the same engagement area. If, for instance, one person would say to another:

(506) *wàthí yǎ-ká-'d ínín*
man go.SG:IPFV-AD1-3SG DEM.ITV

'The man is going there.'

This would imply that the man is going either to the same place where the addressee is, or else another place known to and understood by both. The speaker and addressee are not in the same engagement area. This use of *kí* is more frequent in the Imperfective.

Examples (507) and (508) also show a type of movement or directionality towards a location.

(507) *é kí wòl-kí yì'dé mà'dán tān*
2SG NARR pour-AD1 water there PHM

'You pour the water there.'

(508) *áhā běl-kí-ná ā ḵ́ōs bwày é*
1SG push:IPFV-AD1-1SG ACC.CL2 cup to 2SG

'I'm pushing the cup to you.'

With the verb *dì*, 'to be located', the use of *kí* marker can show that someone has remained somewhere even after the others have left. This is in the Perfective form.

(509) *á'dī dì-kí-'d í Āsósā*
3SG exist.SG:PFV-AD1-3SG LOC.CL1 Asosa

'He has remained behind in Asosa.'

Aspectual uses of the AD1 marker depend on the semantics of the verb, the presence of *mò*, as well as the tone of the root verb. With the Imperfective, dynamic verbs with *kí* shows a durative or persistive use. It is often translated as 'still'.

(510) *wàthí hā'th-kí jì̱pí?*
man eat.greens:IPFV-AD1 edible.leaf

'The man is still eating the jipi leaves.'

(511) *á'dī 'kōsh-kí wà'c*
3SG hit:IPFV-AD1 fish

'He is still fishing, he keeps on fishing.'

(512) *á'dī dǐ-kí-'d í Āsósā*
3SG exist.SG:IPFV-AD1-3SG LOC.CL1 Asosa

'He is already in Asosa.'

In example (513), we see a verb with more of a momentaneous semantic interpretation. In this case, the bee stung the person a little bit ago, which the speaker did not necessarily witness. The speaker does, however, see the result of the bee sting, such as the way the person is acting. This use resembles the typological perfect, an action which happened in the past and has its effects carrying into the present.

(513) *à dhàm wù'c-kí wàthí*
CL2 bee sting:IPFV-AD1 man

'The bee has just stung the person.'

Imperfective *kí* without *mò* can also give more of a pluractional or resumptive meaning. It indicates a cessation of the action followed by the action starting again. The difference between example (513) and example (514) require further investigation as to why the interpretations are different despite the same verbal form, but one potential reason is the fact that example (514) uses a monovalent construction, unspecified for objects.

(514) *à dhàm wù'c-kí-'d*
CL2 bee sting:IPFV-AD1-3SG

'The bee has again begun to sting (the people).'

(515) *à shō'k hèth-ké-'d*
CL2 rain fall:IPFV-AD1-3SG

'It has started raining again.'

(516) *áhā ḵās-kí-n ā īs*
1SG itch:IPFV-AD1-NAS ERG.CL1 body.PART

'My body was itching earlier and now is again.'

The use of *mò* in combination with *kí* and the Imperfective is complex, but it often refers to the trigger or reason for the action. In many instances, the meaning is identical to those constructions without *mò*.

(517) *à* *'cí* *kūṯ-kí-'d*
CL2 child cough:IPFV-AD1-3SG

'The child started coughing again.'

(518) *à* *'cí* *kūṯ-kí-'d* *mò*
CL2 child cough:IPFV-AD1-3SG MO

'The child started coughing again.'

In some instances, particularly with those dealing with a process, the use of *mò* indicates a more determinate duration, even if that duration is unspecified. It likely defines the initial boundary of the event.

(519) *à* *ḵúrā* *'dáŋkál-kí-'d*
CL2 ball roll:IPFV-AD1-3SG

'The ball keeps on rolling, is still rolling.'

(520) *à* *ḵúrā* *'dáŋkál-kí-'d* *mò*
CL2 ball roll:IPFV-AD1-3SG *mo*

'The ball has been rolling for thirty minutes (or another defined amount of time).'

With the Perfective aspect of the verb root, *kí* indicates an earlier completion of the event. It is frequently translated into English as 'already'. This is nearly always with *mò*. Note that it does not indicate whether the activity was done in its entirety or not, merely that the speaker is no longer doing it. Example (521) for instance does not indicate whether there is any food left, but rather that the speaker is finished.

(521) *áhā* *shwá-kí-ná* *mà* *mò*
1SG eat:PFV-AD1-1SG food MO

'I have already eaten the food.'

(522) *áhā ḳás-kí-n ā īs mò*
1SG itch:PFV-AD1-NAS ERG.CL1 body.PART MO

'My body was itching earlier, some time in the past.'

(523) *á'di yà-ká-'d mò 'pénî áhā*
3SG go.SG:PFV-AD1-3SG MO from.CL1 1SG

'He has already run away from me.'

In most instances, it is simply not possible to use the Perfective aspect with *kí* and without *mò*. However, in example (509) we did see an instance of the Perfective aspect without *mò*, shown again here:

(509, repeated) *á'dī dì-kí-'d í Āsósā*
3SG exist.SG:PFV-AD1-3SG LOC.CL1 Asosa

'He has remained behind in Asosa.'

Here, the meaning is not aspectual but rather deictic, showing a separation of the actor from other potential participants. There is an implied reading of being alone, with others having been previously involved with the actor in some way. This use of *kí* without *mò* is restricted in its use, but it does occur for other verbs of non-movement, as seen in example (524):

(524) *wàthî? shūn-kú ṗólóny*
man boil:PFV-AD1 pumpkin

'The man is cooking the pumpkin(s) while the others have left.'

In addition to its aspectual uses, *kí* may also be used as an applicative, adding an additional benefactive argument to a construction. It may only be applied to predicates which are already bivalent.

(525) *áhā ḉí-kí-ná é à wărkā*
1SG give:IPFV-AD1-1SG 2SG CL2 book

'I'm giving you the book.'

(526) *wàthî? 'cī'th-kí é cwá*
man cut:IPFV-AD1 2SG tree

'The man is cutting the tree for you.'

(527) *à* *lìs* *pāsh-kí* *únī* *cépény* *ā* *sū* *ḿmò*
CL2 falcon scoop:PFV-AD1 3PL mash ASS.CL2 beer GER
lák *tāní,*
eat.porridge so

'The falcon gave them some beer mash to eat.'

(528) *á'dī* *sí-kí-'d* *ā* *kām* *pí'dī* *ēmén* *ā*
3SG plant:IPFV-AD1-3SG ACC.CL2 brother POSS.3SG seed ASS.CL2
cīlé
lentil

'He's planting lentil seeds for his brother.'

8.5.2 AD2 Í

The AD marker *í* is also relatively common, and with a diverse set of meanings, the most common of which mentioned below:

- Movement towards (verbs of motion)
- Simultaneous activity of an action and movement towards (verbs of non-motion)
- Actor doing an action elsewhere and then coming to current location
- Action beginning in 'present' and still happening now
- Marking an event near completion
- Marking an event which will result in something else

With monovalent forms of the verb and A-Voice constructions with Class II Objects, it changes into the glide *y*, adding an extra vowel copied from the verb root before and after.

Examples of the 3SG Imperfective forms of the verb *wǔ'c*, 'to bite, sting' with the AD2 marker may be seen below, with the subject *à dhàm*, 'bee', and objects *à 'bú'th*, 'monkey', and *bìp*, 'cow'.

Intransitive à dhàm wùcúyú'd
Transitive, Class II O à dhàm wùcúyú'd ā 'bú'th
Transitive, Class I O à dhàm wùcí bìp

With verbs of motion, it can encode motion towards the deictic center of reference. Without *mò*, it suggests being in the middle of the process; with *mò*, however, it suggests that the process is near completion. Differences in perfectivity with directional interpretations still require further investigation.

(529) *à ḳúrā 'dáŋkál-áy-á'd*
CL2 ball roll:IPFV-AD2-3SG

'The ball is rolling towards me.'

(530) *wàthí úr-í ḳā'bāl mò*
man herd:PFV-AD2 sheep MO

'The man is herding the sheep towards us.'

(531) *à ḳúrā 'dáŋkál-áy-á'd mò*
CL2 ball roll:IPFV-AD2-3SG *mò*

'The ball is rolling towards me (and is almost here).'

This motion can also be more abstract, such as with the verb *tór tō*, 'to call'.

(532) *é tōr-í tō kí áhā ísh-á ē mò*
2SG call:IPFV-AD2 thing COMP 1SG sleep:IPFV-1SG eye.PART MO

'I was sleeping when you called me.'

In combination with the Imperfective, *í* marks something similar to a progressive form, that the action is happening as we see it. This use does not differ substantially from the default interpretation of the basic Imperfective form. This differs from Imperfective AD1 in that the initiation of the action with *kí* is before the current situation, whereas the initiation of the action with *í* is now. So the speaker may not have witnessed the beginning of the action with *kí*, but she has, with *í*.

(533) *à dhàm wù'c-í wàthí*
CL2 bee sting:IPFV-AD2 man

'The bee is stinging the man, has stung the man (here, now).'

(534) *wàthí ūr-í ḳā'bāl*
man herd:IPFV-AD2 sheep

'The man is herding the sheep (here, now).'

Verbs of non-motion can also have ventive interpretations in combination with the Imperfective and *í*. It suggests the actor is doing the action while moving towards the deictic center of reference. This interpretation does not occur with *mò*.

(535) *à* *'cí* *kūṯ-úy-ú'd* *ínín*
CL2 child cough:IPFV-AD2-3SG DEM.VENT

'The child is coughing while coming towards us.'

With the verb 'to stay', it refers to staying in another location elsewhere from the current.

(536) *Nàshún* *dǐ-yí-'d* *í* *Pāsūdân* *gòmà* *pé* *'dé*
Nashun stay.SG:IPFV-AD2-3SG LOC.CL1 Sudan for.CL2 month one

'Nashun stayed in Sudan for a month.'

The Imperfective combined with *í* and *mò* marks an event happening at the current time which has resulted from something else. Example (537) suggests that the man is herding the sheep as a result of something. The man could have been herding the sheep in an area where he was not supposed to, and someone else asks him to leave. When he takes the sheep elsewhere, it is possible to say the construction with *mò*.

(537) *wàthí* *ūr-í* *ḵā'bāl* *mò*
man herd:IPFV-AD2 sheep *mò*

'The man then started to herd the sheep.'

In combination with the Perfective, the AD2 marker refers to an event which is connected with a future action of some kind.

(538) *à* *'cí* *kúṯ-úy-ú'd*
CL2 child cough:IPFV-AD2-3SG

'The child is coughing (and something else will happen as a result, such as him vomiting).'

Adding *mò* to this use of the AD2 marker combined with the Perfective form of the verb gives a complex interpretation. It not only triggers a second action, but it also was caused by something. It focuses on both event boundaries, grounding them in a larger context.

In example (539), the child may have been in some sort of bad condition and unable to breathe. If a doctor would defibrillate her to get her breathing started again, and while beginning to breathe the child coughs, then it is possible to use *mò*. This shows the trigger of the coughing, the shock of the defibrillation, as well as it leading into a result, the breathing.

(539) *à* *'cí* *kúṯ-úy-ú'd* *mò*
CL2 child cough:IPFV-AD2-3SG DEM.VENT

'The child is coughing (which is caused by something, and something else also happens as a result).'

The use of *í* combined with the Perfective can also mark that the actor has already done the action in another location and has returned. This use generally requires *mò*.

(540) *wàthí* *cwány-áy-á'd* *mò*
man dig:PFV-AD2-3SG MO

'The man has gone somewhere else to dig and has now come back to us.'

(541) *á'dī* *'kósh-í* *wà'c* *mò*
3SG hit:PFV-AD2 fish MO

'S/he has gone somewhere else to fish and has now come back to us.'

(542) *áhā* *shwá-yí-ná* *mà* *mò*
1SG eat:PFV-AD2-1SG food MO

'I ate already, somewhere else.'

8.6 Agreement

This section focuses on the inflectional paradigms Uduk uses to mark agreement between arguments of the VP and the verb: in particular, cross-referencing of person, number, and gender marking on the verb. Agreement in inflectional paradigms varies according to three primary differentiations: the number of arguments, the gender of the arguments, and the voice of the construction.

For monovalent constructions, or construction in which there is only one core argument, S is cross-referenced on the verb through a variety of suffixes marking person, number, and to some extent, aspect. Subject expression of S may not be omitted in independent declarative clauses.

Bivalent constructions have at least two core arguments, one of which functioning as A (the argument of a transitive clause that correlates most closely with the notion of Agent), the second functioning as O (the argument of a transitive clause that correlates most closely with the notion of Patient) (Comrie 1989).

Unlike monovalent, the position of the core arguments in bivalent predicates is more flexible, depending on information structure as well as inherent verbal semantics. The position of these arguments in the clause also affects the type of cross-referencing the verb utilizes with these arguments.

If A is placed in clause-initial position, this is described as A-Voice. Agreement with A-Voice bivalent constructions may be differentiated into two types, depending on the gender of O. If O is Class II, A is cross-referenced on the verb in an identical manner to monovalent constructions. Class I O on the other hand inhibits the realization of cross-referencing on all person forms except for 1SG, 1PI, and 1PE. Thus, the constructions are distinguished partially by the existence or lack of cross referencing of A. Neither A nor O may be omitted in independent declarative clauses in A-Voice constructions.

If O is placed in clause-initial position, this is described as O-Voice. O-Voice constructions have no argument cross-referencing on the verb; instead, A is case-marked with the Ergative case, with variations in the marker depending on the grammatical gender of the A argument. Pronouns are treated as Class I nouns, for the most part. However, in addition to the separate independent pronominal forms, it is common to instead find a separate cliticized version of the pronoun onto the verb.

More detailed descriptions of each type may be found in the sections below; examples of different verb paradigms may be found in section A in the Appendix.

As the tonal shape of the agreement marker is to some extent dependent on the tone class, the table is repeated here as a reminder. These are purely formal classes in which the tonal pattern and phonotactics determine the class membership.

Table 8.8: Verb tone classes

Class	Base tone	IPFV tone	Example, PFV	Example, IPFV	English
1	M	H	pē’th	pé’th	‘to laugh’
2	L	LH	gàm	gǎm	‘to find, meet’
3	H	M	cép	cēp	‘to prepare beer’
4	LH	L	lǒl	lòl	‘to gather honey’
5	H	L	wár	wàr	‘to become angry’

8.6.1 Monovalent

Verbs in monovalent constructions use suffixes on the verb to mark cross-referencing of the subject. There are tonal alternations depending on Perfectivity; verbs in the Imperfective have a H-toned agreement marker, whereas the Perfective copies the tone of the root for all persons except 1.

Verbs ending in a vowel use one pattern of agreement marking (seen in example (543) with the verb *yà*, ‘to go’), whereas verbs ending in a consonant use a second type with a copied vowel (seen in example (544) with the verb *yǎ?*, ‘to vomit’)[3].

[3]There appears to be some dialectal variation with this in a few villages, in that instead of using

(543) *á'dī yǎ-'d*
3SG go.SG:IPFV-3SG

'S/he's walking.'

(544) *á'dī yà?-á'd*
3SG vomit:IPFV-3SG

'S/he's vomiting.'

Most open-syllable verbs (Classes 1, 2, 4, and 5) in the Imperfective use the following agreement markers found in table 8.9.

Table 8.9: Open-syllable Monovalent Agreement, Class 1, 2, 4, and 5 Imperfective verbs

-ná	1SG	-ná	1PE
		-nà	1PI
-n	2SG	-n	2PL
-'d	3SG	-n	3PL

(545) yé, 'to escape', Class 5 verb

à císh yè-'d mò
CL2 gazelle escape:IPFV-3SG MO

'The gazelle is escaping.'

(546) p̲ē, 'to jump, fly', class 1 verb

únī p̲é-n
3PL fly:IPFV-3PL

'They are flying.'

(547) yà, 'to go, sg.', class 2 verb

ámān yǎ-ná bwǎshó màn 'thámō
1PE go.SG:IPFV-1PE bush in the morning

'We (many of us) are going to the bush in the morning.'

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a copy of the vowel, the speakers use the vowel *i*. This may be an older form, and warrants further investigation.

Class 3 verbs are those in which the base tone is H and the Imperfective tone is M. Class 3 Verbs use segmentally identical suffixes to mark agreement, but class 3 verbs without any AD suffixes have an additional change in that a floating H tone attaches to the verb root for 2nd and 3rd person, creating a MH rising tone. If the suffixes *-kí* or *-í* are added to the verb, however, the floating H tone disappears.

Table 8.10: Open-syllable Monovalent Agreement, Class 3 Imperfective verbs

-ná	1SG	-ná	1PE
		-nà	1PI
-ˊn	2SG	-ˊn	2PL
-ˇ'd	3SG	-ˊn	3PL

(548) shwá, 'to eat, burn', Class 3 verb

gù'b shwā́-'d
house burn:IPFV-3SG

'The house is burning.'

(549) há, 'to agree', Class 3 verb

ámm̃ hā-ná mí kán yǐsā
1PE agree:IPFV-1PE do DEM.ADV.PROX NEG

'We don't agree to do it that way.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

Table 8.11: Closed syllable Monovalent Agreement, Class 1,2,3,4,5 Imperfective verbs

-á	1SG	-á	1PE
		-à	1PI
-V́n	2SG	-V́n	2PL
-V́'d	3SG	-V́n	3PL

Closed-syllable verbs have identical segmental markers, with an additional vowel copied from the immediately preceding vowel. For verbs in the Imperfective aspect, the tone of this vowel is always H.

(550) sú'k, 'to stack', Class 1 verb

à ḵó'bā sū'k-ú'd í bwàmbòr gù'b
CL2 corn stack:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 front house

'The corn is stacked in front of the house.'

(551) c̲ōr, ‘to wait’, Class 3 verb

á’dī c̲ór-ó’d mò
3SG wait:IPFV-3SG MO

‘S/he is waiting.’

(552) gùs, ‘to run,sg.’, Class 5 verb

á’dī gŭs-ú’d mò
3SG run.SG:IPFV-3SG MO

‘S/he is running away.’

Table 8.12: Open-syllable Monovalent Agreement, Class 1,2,3,4,5 Perfective verbs

-ná	1SG	-ná	1PE
		-nà	1PI
-n	2SG	-n	2PL
-’d	3SG	-n	3PL

Open-syllable verbs with the Perfective aspect have agreement patterns identical to Imperfective, aside from floating H tones seen with class 3 verbs, which do not occur here.

(553) yé, ‘to escape’, Class 5 verb

à císh yé-’d mò
CL2 gazelle escape:PFV-3SG MO

‘The gazelle has escaped.’

(554) p̲ē, ‘to jump, fly’, class 1 verb

únī p̲ē-n mò
3PL fly:PFV-3PL MO

‘They have flown.’

(555) shwá, ‘to eat, burn’, Class 3 verb

gù’b shwá-’d mò
house burn:PFV-3SG MO

‘The house has burned.’

Closed-syllable verbs with the Perfective aspect have agreement suffixes which copy both the immediately preceding vowel as well as the immediately preceding tone, represented here with a dot over the vowel. For contour tones, only the last tone in the contour is copied.

Table 8.13: Closed-syllable Monovalent Agreement, Class 1,2,3,4,5 Perfective verbs

-á	1SG	-á	1PE
		-à	1PI
-V̇n	2SG	-V̇n	2PL
-V̇'d	3SG	-V̇n	3PL

(556) c̱ōr, 'to wait', Class 3 verb

á'dī c̱ōr-ō'd mò
3SG wait:PFV-3SG MO

'S/he already waited.'

(557) gùs, 'to run,sg.', Class 5 verb

á'dī gùs-ù'd mò
3SG run.SG:PFV-3SG MO

'S/he already ran away.'

8.6.2 Bivalent

8.6.2.1 A-Voice

As mentioned earlier, the position of the core arguments in bivalent predicates affects the paradigm of agreement marking used.

There are two types of A-Voice bivalent constructions, depending on the gender of O. If O is Class II, verbs pattern identically to monovalent constructions, and the tables found in section 8.6.1 represent Bivalent A-Voice constructions with Class II O as well.

If O is Class I, however, only 1SG, 1PI, and PE are cross-referenced on the verb. For the most part, neither the syllable structure nor the aspect of the verb make a difference. The only difference between Open-Syllable and Closed-syllable verbs is the presence or absence of *n* on the 1st person marker.

Table 8.14: Bivalent Agreement markers with Class I O, Classes 1-5 Perfective and Classes 1, 2, 4, and 5 Imperfective verbs

-(n)á	1SG	-(n)á	1PE
		-(n)à	1PI
	2SG		2PL
	3SG		3PL

(558) shēkēm īs, 'to sift', Class 1 verb

á'dī shékém pós īs
3SG sift:IPFV sorghum body.PART

'S/he is sifting the sorghum flour.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(559) c̲ī, 'to give', Class 1 verb

é c̲í-kí áhā à wărkā
2SG give:IPFV-AD1 1SG CL2 book

'You gave me the book.'

(560) 'thúr, 'to wash', Class 3 verb

únī 'thúr mè'd mò
3PL wash:PFV hand MO

'They washed their hands.'

(561) dhěr, 'to tear', Class 4 verb

à 'bóm dhěr bùnyjè
CL2 woman tear:PFV clothes

'The woman tore the clothes.'

(562) bù'th, 'to grab, hold', Class 5 verb

é bǔ'th dhàn à bìr cwá
2SG grab:IPFV great ASS.CL2 root tree

'You are catching a big tree root.'

Aspect does not generally play a role in the tonal shape of bivalent agreement marking with Class I O, with one exception. Class 3 verbs in the Imperfective

have a floating H tone which attaches to the verb root in 2nd and 3rd person, in the same way that monovalent paradigms do.

Table 8.15: Agreement markers with Class I O, Class 3 verbs in the Imperfective

-(n)á	1SG	-(n)á	1PE
		-(n)à	1PI
-´	2SG	-´	2PL
-´	3SG	-´	3PL

(563) *à yálàŋkō̲p p̲ī́ yì'dé?*
CL2 waterbuck drink:IPFV water

'The waterbuck(s) is(are) drinking water.'

(564) *ánā p̲ī-nà yì'dé?*
1PI drink:IPFV-1PI water

'We (inclusive) are drinking water.'

(565) *à 'cíŋgwà̲th ű́r k̲ā'bāl*
CL2 boy herd:IPFV sheep

'The boy is herding the sheep.'

(566) *wàthí 'kő́sh wà'c*
man hit:IPFV fish

'The man is fishing.'

8.6.2.2 O-Voice

As mentioned earlier, bivalent O-Voice constructions do not have argument cross-referencing on the verb. However, verbs ending in an open syllable do add an additional suffix *-n* with both Class I A arguments as well as Class II A arguments.

Alternatively, there are bound pronominal forms shown in table 8.16. These are reduced forms of the pronouns in combination with the Class I marker *ā*, except for 1SG, which has its own form. The tone of 1SG lowers to L when immediately following another L tone. In some instances, particularly in fast speech, the tone for all persons but 1SG is H instead of MH. Pronominal forms use *-n* after vowels as well, with the exception of 1SG *-kā?*.

Table 8.16: Bound Ergative Pronominal forms

-kāʔ, -kàʔ	1SG	-ắnā	1PE
		-ắm̄	1PI
-ḗ	2SG	-ű́m	2PL
-ā́'dī	3SG	ű́nī	3PL

8.7 Plural-marking Alternations

Number marking in Uduk is marked most often at the phrase or clause level rather than following a canonical strategy marking number on nouns. In the noun phrase, number-marking alternations exist with some types of modifiers and demonstratives, but not most nouns themselves. In the verb phrase, it is marked through suppletive lexemes and person-number agreement marking.

Through the use of suppletive verb forms and agreement mismatches, Uduk makes use of an even more fine-grained distinction in plurality in some instances, namely a paucal-plural able to be contrasted with a multal-plural[4]. A similar construction was shown to exist in Komo to mark a singular-dual-plural contrast; for more details, see Otero (2015b). Gumuz has also been shown to mark a paucal-multal (or dual-plural, depending on the dialect) distinction in the verb (Ahland 2012a).

The distinction in Uduk, however, should be seen as a qualitative difference in number rather than quantitative, and there is no precise delimiter in which the paucal moves to the multal. Instead, the paucal is used for smaller amounts which are easily countable. In contrast, the multal is used for larger amounts which are not easily countable, or when the speaker wishes to stress a larger amount. Unlike the paucal form of the plural, the use of the multal is a rather marked construction.

Paucal-multal contrasts are formed in Uduk through mismatches with number, when plural pronouns or nouns occur with verb roots coded for singular number. Although pronouns are always marked for number, noun phrases carry overt number marking only in a handful of instances:

- Prenominal modifiers which alternate for number
- Adnominal demonstratives either modifying a noun or heading an NP directly
- Nouns which are inherently specified for number, primarily involving humans

A simple example may be seen as follows. The verb to go has two forms which are encoded for number; *yà* is used for singular subjects, and *ī* is used for plural. However, with the combination of a plural subject and the singular form of the verb, an augmented version of the plural can be made.

[4]The term multal was introduced earlier to refer to a plural of large amounts. It is also sometimes called a greater plural, or extended plural.

(567) *wàthí yǎ-'d mò*
person go.SG:IPFV-3SG MO

'The person is going.'

(568) *'kwāní í-n mò*
people go.PL:IPFV-3PL MO

'The (few) people are going.'

(569) *'kwāní yǎ-n mò*
people go.SG:IPFV-3PL MO

'Many people are going.'

This mismatch only applies to plural subjects and singular verb roots; a singular subject cannot combine with a plural root.

(570) **wàthí í-'d mò*
*person go.PL:IPFV-3SG MO

'The person is going (intended meaning).'

Paucal-multal differentiations are only possible through verb root alternations; changing the agreement marker will form ungrammatical constructions.

(571) **únī í-'d mò*
*3PL go.PL:IPFV-3SG MO

'They are going (intended meaning).'

(572) **únī yǎ-'d mò*
*3PL go.SG:IPFV-3SG MO

'They are going (intended meaning).'

This alternation also shows up with pronouns for all plural forms except for 1PE.

(573) *únī í-n mò*
3PL go.PL:IPFV-3PL MO

'They (paucal) are going.'

(574) *únī yǎ-n mò*
3PL go.SG:IPFV-3PL MO

'They (greater plural) are going.'

(575) *úm í-n mò*
2PL go.PL:IPFV-2PL MO

'You (paucal) are going.'

(576) *úm yǎ-n mò*
2PL go.SG:IPFV-2PL MO

'You (plural) are going.'

(577) *ánā í-nà mò*
1PI go.PL:IPFV-3PL MO

'We (paucal, inclusive) are going.'

(578) *ánā yǎ-nà mò*
1PI go.SG:IPFV-3PL MO

'We (plural, inclusive) are going.'

The 1PE pronoun is special in that there are already two different forms, *ámān* used only to refer to larger groups, and *ám̄* for a default or plaucal meaning.

(579) *ám̄ shwā-ná*
1PE eat:IPFV-1PE

'We (paucal, exclusive) are eating.'

(580) *ámān shwā-ná*
1PE eat:IPFV-1PE

'We (multal, exclusive) are eating.'

As described previously in section 5.1, when combining 1PE alternations with verb roots which also have suppletive forms for number marking, an interesting combination occurs. The paucal pronoun may only be used with the plural root of go, *ī*, and it is not possible to combine ám̄ with *yà*.

(581) *ámn̄ í-ná*
1PE go.PL:IPFV-1PE

'We (paucal, exclusive) are going.'

However, *ámān* may be used with either form of the verb to give a multal plural meaning, with no difference in semantics.

(582) *ámān í-ná*
1PE go.PL:IPFV-1PE

'We (multal, exclusive) are going.'

(583) *ámān yǎ-ná*
1PE go.SG:IPFV-1PE

'We (multal, exclusive) are going.'

8.8 Prospective

There is also a special form of the verb used for the Prospective aspect. It is formed by a type of reduplication, using the finite form of the verb with person-marking inflection and optional AD marking, followed by *ì* and a non-finite form of the verb root. The construction is structurally similar to auxiliary verb constructions, and has the same meaning as with *múr*, 'be ready to'.

This low-toned *ì* is used in constructions in which the same subject is repeated for two verbs, the second verb being invariably non-finite. It does not allow for overt expression of the repeated subject. In addition to its use with the Prospective, it is most commonly found with serial verb constructions and auxiliary verb constructions, but it can also be used to link clauses in some instances. It is closely linked with the non-finite verb form which follows it, and nothing can ever occur in between. Despite its close syntactic relationship with the non-finite verb which follows, *ì* phonologically attaches to whatever word immediately precedes it. Furthermore, if it follows a vowel, it takes on the quality of the vowel, as seen in example (585) below.

The Prospective is used to mark a particular state related to a planned or imagined subsequent event after this state. This could be for intended or planned actions, or actions one thinks will happen. It is similar to the future tense in that it shows the state relative to a future event, but the Prospective merely alludes to the signs of a future situation, rather than the imminent transition. Furthermore, it may be used with different times, and does not strictly refer to the future of the present situation[5].

[5]Comrie (1976) gives the following description of the difference between the Prospective and

(584) *wàthí cwāny-á'd ì cwăny jùs mò*
man dig:IPFV-3SG LNK dig hole MO

'The man is going to dig a hole.'

(585) *ámn̄ dǒk̲-á à dòk̲ mò*
1PE return:IPFV-1PE LNK return MO

'We're going to head back.'

There are differences in the structure of the construction depending on the voice. In A-Voice bivalent constructions, the O argument is placed after the non-finite verb root.

(586) *á'dī 'kwār-á'd ì 'kwár ā wărkā*
3SG write:IPFV-3SG LNK write ACC.CL2 book

'He is going to write a book.'

(587) *wàthí bĕl-é'd ì bèl tō*
man push:IPFV-3SG LNK push thing

'The man will push the thing.'

In O-Voice constructions, the A argument is placed in between the finite and non-finite forms. Note that *ì* always comes directly before the non-finite form.

(588) *tō bĕl-í-n ā wàthí ì bèl*
thing push:IPFV-AD2-NAS ERG.CL1 man LNK REDUP

'The man's going to push the thing.'

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the Future, which may help the reader in understanding the distinction here: "It is important to appreciate the difference between these expressions of prospective meaning and expressions of straight future time reference, e.g. between *Bill is going to throw himself off the cliff* and *Bill will throw himself off the cliff*. If we imagine a situation where someone says one of these two sentences, and then Bill is in fact prevented from throwing himself off the cliff, then if the speaker said *Bill will throw himself off the cliff*, he was wrong, his prediction was not borne out. If, however, he said *Bill is going to throw himself off the cliff*, then he was not necessarily wrong, since all he was alluding to was Bill's intention to throw himself off the cliff, i.e. to the already present seeds of some future situation, which future situation might well be prevented from coming about by inter-vening factors. Indeed, *Bill is going to throw himself off the cliff* might well be shouted as a warning to some third party to prevent the future situation from coming about"(Comrie 1976, p. 64).

(589) *tō* *běl-í-n* *mā* *Yúsìf* *ì* *bèl*
thing push:IPFV-AD2-NAS ERG.CL2 Yousef LNK REDUP

'Yousef's going to push the thing.'

If an additional beneficiary argument is added, the AD1 marker is suffixed onto the end of both the finite as well as the non-finite verb forms. Both objects are placed after the non-finite form.

(590) *á'dī* *'kwār-kí-'d* *ì* *'kwár-kí* *é* *à* *wărkā*
3SG write:IPFV-AD1-3SG LNK write-AD1 2SG CL2 book

'He is going to write you a book.'

8.9 Impersonal

The Impersonal in Uduk is a construction in which the agent or subject of the verbal predicate is suppressed. It is marked by the suffix *-ù*, or *-nù* for verbs ending in an open syllable. This suffix occurs last, after any other AD markers. When combining the Impersonal *-ù* with *kí* and *í*, rounding harmony optionally occurs, transforming them into *kúnù* and *únù* respectively.

The Impersonal in Uduk would fit what has been described by Haspelmath (1990) as a 'desubjective' or 'impersonal' passive, and they differ from prototypical passives in a number of ways. Firstly, passivization of a verbal predicate detransitivizes a verb by deleting its subject (Blevins 2003). Impersonalization on the other hand preserves the valency of the construction, instead inhibiting the realization of the subject or agent. It forbids the expression of the agent or subject through any oblique phrases, and could be defined as a *subjectless* construction. Uduk Impersonal constructions preserve the valency of a verb, which can be either intransitive or transitive. The realization of S or A is suppressed, and is not recoverable through prepositional phrases.

Impersonals of transitive constructions typically retain the O argument, which often moves into clause-initial position.

(591) *à* *pá?* *kār-ù* *mò* *á* *'césh*
CL2 shoe set:PFV-IMPRS MO LOC.CL2 GROUND

'The shoes were placed on the ground.'

(592) *bùrìnyè* *kúc-ù* *mò*
clothes fold:PFV-IMPRS MO

'The clothes were folded.'

(593) *tō* *bǐṯ-ù* *mè'd* *mò*
thing drop:PFV-IMPRS hand MO

'It was dropped (from someone's hand).'

Impersonal constructions on intransitive verbs (e.g. with no expressed arguments) can also occur, which focus on the event or situation. As verb-initial predication is rare in Uduk, Impersonal constructions of intransitive verbs primarily occur with serial verb constructions or in relative clauses, rather than in independent predicates.

(594) *kí* *jěp̱-ún-ù* *thím* *mò* *tāní,*
COMP cut:PFV-AD2-IMPRS finish:PFV MO then

'When cutting (is) completed (in another place),'

However, these can also occur in independent clauses if another topic is placed in initial position, as seen in example (595).

(595) *à* *sē'd* *í-tāní* *í-nù* *à* *màsábà*
LOC.CL2 wild.potato REF-PHM go.PL:IPFV-IMPRS CL2 distance
mà *sáà-à* *sú?* *wàc̱ìbà?* *m̀mò* *ī* *k̲wǎny*
GEN.CL2 hour-INDV two maybe GER go.PL dig

'(For) wild potatoes (people) went a distance of two hours maybe for digging.'

When the Impersonal is used with intransitive verbs, it usually occurs in the plural form in instances where plural roots differ from singular roots. This is particularly salient in instances like the following, in which *wàthí* cannot be the argument of run.

(596) *wàthí* *só-nù* *kí* *dǐ-'d*
man run.PL:IPFV-IMPRS COMP be.located:IPFV-3SG

'People (or someone plural who is unstated) were running around while the man was there.'

8.10 Non-Finite Verbal Morphology

As mentioned earlier, non-finite morphology forms a significant part of Uduk verbal morphology. The different constructions which use non-finite forms of the verb are described more in section 9.10.

Non-finite constructions occur in the following situations:

1. Narrative
2. Gerund
3. Imperative
4. After the verb linker *ì*
5. Serial verb constructions
6. After auxiliary verbs

Non-finite forms of the verb differ from finite forms in the following ways:

- No tonal changes are possible on the verb roots to mark perfectivity
- Verbs do not inflect for person or number based on agreement with S or A
- Verbs may make use of three additional suffixes in addition to AD1 and AD2:

  IMP The Imperative *-ī* is used with commands
  ITV The Itive *-kúʔ* marks another deictic center, or direction towards that center, typically understood from context
  VENT The Ventive *-úʔ* (*-yúʔ* after vowels) shows a direction towards the speaker or established deictic center, or that the event is happening/happened in a different location

Further details of each form are described below.

8.10.1 Imperative

The Imperative is one of the most basic verb forms in Uduk, and its use is relatively simple. It is formed from the non-finite verb root, which then adds the suffix *-ī*. This then changes to a low *-ì* when directly following a low tone. If the imperative would follow a vowel, the glide *y* may be inserted in between the two vowels. The imperative is identical for both singular and plural forms, aside from suppletive roots marking plurality such as *gùs* vs. *sō*.

(597) *ṯūr-ī* *mè'd* *pīní* *í* *ō'd*
dry-IMP hand POSS.2SG LOC.CL1 fire

'Dry your hands in the fire.'

(598) *gù-yì* *yì'dé* *mò*
take-IMP water MO

'Take the water (away)!'

(599) *nyúʔ-ī* *tō*
wring-IMP thing

'Wring it!'

(600) *gùs-ī*
run.SG-IMP

'Run away!'

(601) *sō-yī*
run.PL-IMP

'Run away (all of you)!'

When the Imperative is used with pronominal arguments, the suffix usually disappears, with the pronoun then attaching to the verb.

(602) *shú-yáā* *bwày*
show-1SG way

'Show me the way.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(603) *k̲wáʔ-áā* *tō-m* *pém* *mò*
divide-1SG thing-ASS POSS.1SG MO

'Divide for me my things.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(604) *yúk̲-áā* *á'dī*
call-1SG 3SG

'Call her for me.'

(605) *yúk̲-á'dī*
call-3SG

'Call her.'

If the Imperative occurs with a Class II object, the Imperative suffix is deleted, and only the Accusative case marker remains. As a reminder, despite being written separately in this work, the Accusative case marking does phonologically attach to the verb.

(606) *'kósh ā ālbŭm ē nyàk̲ká kó*
hit IMP.ACC.CL2 coffee eye.PART with.CL2 milk

'Mix the coffee with the milk!'

(607) *híl ā dhàn à dhòp̲ má*
look IMP.ACC.CL2 great ASS.CL2 lion MA

'Look at the lion!'

8.10.2 Itive

The suffix *-kú*, or *-kú?* when in final or pre-pause position, is a directional marker used to mark a location separated from the speaker or deictic center. For verbs of motion, this generally means motion away from the speaker, towards a specific place. For verbs of non-motion, this implies separation of the speaker and actor in which the actor remains and the speaker (or other people associated) leave. The Itive also has special uses with the Imperative described separately in section 9.13.2.

(608) *gùs-kú 'kúp̲ kí mún*
run-ITV head.PART COMP DEM.LOC.ANPH

'Run that direction!'

(609) *yà-kú yúk̲-á á'dī ì yà-yú ĕ mè'd*
go.SG-ITV call-AD2 3SG LNK go.SG-VENT LOC.DUR:CL1 hand

'Go call him to come right away.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(610) *áā mì-ná 'kósh-kú?*
1SG do.AUX:IPFV-1SG hit-ITV

'I will throw it back to you.'

(611) *áhā mùr-á à p̲ū'd-kú?*
1SG will.AUX:IPFV-1SG LNK arrive-ITV

'I am on the way to arrive (there).'

(612) *bǎth-kú* *wàthí* *yánsañ*
follow-ITV man DEM

'Follow that man.' (to another location)

(613) *K̲ú'bā* *mì-n* *à* *é* *'tā* *kí* *ç̲ī-kú* *bè*
Kuba do.AUX:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 2SG CF.AUX:PFV COMP give-ITV EMPH

'You should have given K̲u'ba some.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

Example (614) shows a situation where the speaker will stay in the house, implying that the group of people she was with, or an undefined group, will not be in the house with her.

(614) *áhā* *mì-ná* *ç̲āb-kú* *ě* *gù'b*
1SG do.AUX:IPFV-1SG sit-ITV LOC.DUR:CL1 house

'I should stay in the house.'

Example (615) works similarly.

(615) *áhā* *mì-ná* *à* *dì-kú* *mò*
1SG do.AUX:IPFV-1SG LNK exist.SG-ITV MO

'I can remain behind.'

The Itive is also commonly used with verbs of placement.

(616) *é* *kí* *k̲ūcūr* *ā* *shō?* *dǒō* *tān* *é* *kí* *kār-kú?* *í* *'twā?* *ā* *nǒs* *jǎn* *má'dān* *tān*
2SG NARR soften-ACC.CL2 grass again PHM 2SG NARR put-ITV LOC.CL1 mouth ASS.CL2 pot DEM.PROX2 DEM.LOC.MED PHM

'You soften the grass, then you put it inside the pot there.'

(617) *kār-kú* *tō* *māt̲án*
set-ITV thing there

'Set it down there.'

8.10.3 Ventive

The Ventive is formed by the affix *-ú*, or when in final or pre-pause position, *-ú?*. If it follows a vowel, the glide *y* may be inserted. Like the Itive, there are differences in its use depending on whether or not the verb the Ventive attaches to is a verb of motion or not. For verbs of motion, it signifies that there is an inherent goal towards the deictic center.

(618) *kárā nyàrá ī-yú ù rìc-áā à gàrǐs sà??'*
you.all girl go-VENT LNK grind-ACC.1SG ACC.CL2 okra SA

Please girls, won't you come and grind some okra for me?'

(619) *à Yásīr ő kí yà-yú tí*
CL2 Yasir say:IPFV COMP go.SG-VENT QUOT

'Yasir said he's coming (here).'

(620) *'dō-yú únī*
bring.PL-VENT 3PL

'Bring them.'

(621) *c̱i-yú kā dhŏŋ*
give-VENT directly

'Give (it) here.'

(622) *dhàm mùr-í p̱ē-yú 'péní mún*
bee AUX.PROSP:IPFV-AD2 fly-VENT from:CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH

'The bee will fly from that place (towards the person waiting).'

For verbs which do not encode motion, the Ventive shows that the action happened in a place away from the current location. Similar to the Itive, there is a separation of the actor and the speaker or other participants in the action, but in this case, it is the actor who is elsewhere.

(623) *à rìs tíyā kí c̱īḵ gò-m pí'dī 'kó-yú mò*
CL2 many others NARR listen word-ASS POSS.3SG stay.PL-VENT MO
mís í mún
up CL1.LOC there

'Many of the others listened to him and stayed up there.'

(624) *á'dī kí dhù-yú? á 'césh gòm à cím sú?*
3SG NARR leave-VENT LOC.CL2 ground for CL2 day two

'he leaves (them) (in the other place) on the ground for two days.'

(625) *dhàlì jàhà? mùr-ù jěp̱-ú? kā cím jǎ'dān*
and jaha will.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS cut-VENT with.CL2 day DEM.PROX

'And the jaha should be cut (in the other place) on that day.'

8.11 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs describe the property or state of an attributant, following the terminology of van Valin (2005). They are conceptualized as time-stable and non-dynamic states of an entity, describing concepts such as tastes, appearances, shapes, materials, and qualities. Stative verbs do not generally use aspect or directionality[6], and are viewed as outside telicity. When stative verbs share the same root as with an Active verb, the Active paradigm typically expresses a type of transitional state. The use of *mò* is generally restricted for stative verb constructions, but adding *mò* to a Stative construction can create a type of boundedness of the state, adding telicity to the construction. The details of the use of *mò* with Stative constructions requires further investigation, however.

There are two main ways in which stative verbs are formed based on argument structure, described in more detail below.

8.11.1 Monovalent

Table 8.17: Stative verb types

Verb class	Example	English
L-H-L	gwà'dágwà'd	'little, small'
LH-H-L	gǔ'dágù'd	'dark'
M-H-M	cāácā	'large, big'
H-H-M	'thúp̱á'thūp	'cold'
H-H-L	rúsárùs	'fat'

In the first, most basic form, stative verbs use a unique reduplicating pattern, which does not change for aspect or directionality. There are no voice changes, as they allow only one, preverbal, argument to occur.

[6]While most stative verbs conjugate through a basic reduplication pattern which does not allow for AD marking, there are nonetheless methods in which a speaker can construe aspectual distinctions with stative verbs. These are described briefly at the end of this section.

Structurally, stative verb roots occur with one of four tones, L, M, H, or LH, along with the suffix *á* and a reduplicated verb root. For verb roots with a H or LH tone, these lower to L or M, depending on the syllable onset. Onsets with voiceless obstruents lower to M; voiced obstruents and sonorants lower to L.

Although less frequent, disyllabic stative verbs exist as well, but with a more limited tonal pattern. Disyllabic stative verbs are only found with MM and LL roots. The reduplicated part of the verb is either LL or MM, following the same rules as those for monosyllabic stative verbs.

Table 8.18: Stative verb types

Verb class	Example	English
LL-H-LL	mòròsámòròs	'slippery'
MM-H-MM	'tā'dāmá'tā'dām	'soft'

In terms of agreement with personal pronouns, there are some differences with constructions in the first person compared to the rest, potentially due to the overlap in meaning between the Stative *-á* and the 1SG/1PE agreement marker *-á*; this also occurs with 1PI, however, despite the tonal change from *-á* to *-à*. For stative verbs in first person, the complementizer *kí* is placed in between the Stative marker and the reduplicant. The tone of the reduplicant still lowers its tone if it would be H or LH.

Table 8.19: Stative verb agreement marking

-á kí REDUP	1SG	-á kí REDUP	1PE
		-à kí REDUP	1PI
-á REDUP	2SG	-á REDUP	2PL
-á REDUP	3SG	-á REDUP	3PL

An example of the agreement markers may be seen with the verb *'pér*, 'to be red'.

Table 8.20: Stative verb conjugations with the verb *'pér*

áhā 'pérá kí 'pēr	1SG	ám̄ 'pérá kí 'pēr	1PE
		ánā 'pérà kí 'pēr	1PI
é 'pérá 'pēr	2SG	úm 'pérá 'pēr	2PL
á'dī 'pérá 'pēr	3SG	únī 'pérá 'pēr	3PL

Although not an absolute difference, one common distinction between verb roots conjugated according to the stative pattern and verb roots conjugated according to the active (monovalent) pattern is that the active refers to the result of a change of state, whereas the stative verb is describing the current state as it stands. The verb *cā*, 'to be big, to have grown, to grow', shows the contrast between the two patterns.

(626) *yì'dé? cā-'d mò*
water grow:PFV-3SG MO

'The river (lit: water) has grown, increased in volume.'

(627) *yì'dé? cā-á cā*
water big-STV REDUP

'The river (lit: water) is big'

The verb *bùl*, 'to be putrid, smell rotten', functions in a similar manner.

(628) *á'dī bùl-á bùl*
3SG rot-STV REDUP

'It is putrid, it is rotten-smelling.'

(629) *á'dī bùl-ù'd mò bè*
3SG rot:PFV-3SG MO BE

'It has gone bad, it has become putrid-smelling.'

Some meaning distinctions become slightly more unpredictable, however, due to the polysemy commonly found in verb roots. Meaning alternations do follow a certain pattern, but it is complex, and following the pattern requires knowledge of the different meanings a single verb root can take.

The verb *'pér* can refer to both the color red as well as referring to being ripe. As the monovalent active construction is connected with a resultant state, the ripening semantics would be evoked rather than the redness.

(630) *jǎn 'pér-é'd mò*
DEM red:PFV-3SG MO

'That is ripe.'

In its stative conjugation, it refers to the appearance or quality of something being red.

(631) *jǎn 'pér-á 'pēr*
DEM.MED red-STV REDUP

'That is red.'

Other examples of stative verbs may be seen below.

(632) *tā* *ēmbŭl* *jìn* *'bíth-á* *'bīth* *kāgàhárā*
COP:PFV time REL.SG difficult-STV REDUP very

'it was a very difficult time.'

(633) *Árrā* *sī'dá* *sī'd* *yĭsà* *mè'd* *Páwlòs*
Arra far-STV REDUP NEG as Paulos

'Arra is not as far as Paulos.'

(634) *bà* *màn* *dĭṯ* *'bór-á* *'bōr* *gòm* *'kwāní* *wàḵká* *ḵó'bā*
so monsoon season good-STV REDUP for people if.CL2 maize
mí-n-ì *wàs* *mò* *tāní*
do.AUX:PFV-NAS-LNK tassel:PFV MO PHM

'So the monsoon season is good for people if the maize tassels.'

(635) *thábàn* *tāní* *à* *Árāb* *yĭsà* *sī'd-á* *sī'd=à* *'péní* *'kwāní*
of course PHM CL2 Arab NEG far-STV REDUP=NEG from:CL1 people
sān=à
DEM.LOC.PROX.PREC=NEG

'So the Arabs were not far from these people there.'

(636) *Árāb* *'dísh-á* *'dīsh* *bà* *í* *má'dān* *tāní* *Árāb* *kí*
Arab near-STV REDUP BA LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM Arab NARR
húl *'kwāní*
see people

'The Arabs were very close to that place, and then the Arabs saw the people.'

One remaining note is that the difference between active and stative verbs forms something of a continuum. In our previous example with the verb *'pér*, we saw a paradigm followed by canonical examples of stative and active meanings of the verb forms. However, alternative forms exist which combine the two structures, as seen in table 8.21 below. In these forms, first person marking stays the same; second and third person forms use monovalent active verb agreement follow by the reduplicant.

In the other direction, there is also a possibility for some verb roots to use the stative form of the verb without the reduplicated form. They invariably use *mò* in their construction, and in constructions with Aspect and Directionality marking, a doubling of *mò* occurs. In contrast to normal monovalent

Table 8.21: Stative verb conjugations with the verb *'pér*, alternative forms

áhā 'pérá kí 'pēr	1SG	ám̄ 'pérá kí 'pēr	1PE
		ánā 'pérà kí 'pēr	1PI
é 'pérén kí 'pēr	2SG	úm 'pérén kí 'pēr	2PL
á'dī 'péré'd kí 'pēr	3SG	únī 'pérén kí 'pēr	3PL

paradigms, these verb conjugations have no segmental agreement marking. The precise difference between some of these constructions is still elusive, and requires further research.

(637) *jăn 'pér mò*
DEM red:PFV MO

'That is red.'

(638) *jăn 'pĕr mò*
DEM red:IPFV MO

'That is red.'

(639) *jăn 'pér-kí mò mò*
DEM red:PFV-AD1 MO MO

'It was red; it used to be red (and no longer is).'

(640) *à 'césh 'pér 'pér ā shō'k mò*
CL̄2 earth red redden:PFV ERG.CL1 foot MO

'The red soil reddened (my) feet.'

8.11.2 Bivalent

It is also possible to get stative verbs in bivalent constructions. Most bivalent stative verbs occur in O-Voice constructions, with the attributant in initial position and an ergatively marked (part)argument after the verb root. Similar to the forms found in first person monovalent forms, the complementizer *kí* occurs in combination with the reduplicated root, after the argument. Like monovalent stative verb constructions, if the reduplicant part of the construction would be H or a LH contour, it is lowered to either M or L depending on the syllable onset.

(641) *wàk̲ká shōk̲ héth-é'd mò tānî 'kwānî 'bár mò 'bór*
if.CL2 rain rain:IPFV-3SG MO PHM people ALL MO good:IPFV
ā bwà kí 'bōr tānî ḿmò hè'th mà
ERG.CL1 stomach.PART COMP REDUP PHM GER rain:PFV ERG.CL2
shōk̲
rain

'If it rains, everyone becomes happy because of the rain.'

(642) *À nèt̲h 'bíth ā mí kí 'bīth*
CL2 honey badger strong ERG.CL1 do COMP REDUP

'The honey badger is very strong.'

(643) *á'dī dhěl ā ē kí dhèl*
3SG blind ERG.CL1 eye.PART COMP *redup*

'He's blind.'

Note that although 'eye' is not a semantic argument in (643), it is still a syntactic one. It is possible to adjust the constituent order for information structure, used as an explanation for something.

(644) *ē dhěl á'dī kí dhèl*
eye.PART blind 3SG COMP *redup*

'It's that he's blind.'

Similar to monovalent Stative constructions, the difference between the previous examples and the non-reduplicated version has to do with whether there is a dynamic or stative state. The active verb type suggests that there may have been some cause or trigger for blindness, rather than a description of the state.

(645) *áhā dhěl ā ē mò*
1SG blind ERG.CL1 eye.PART MO

'I'm blind, I've become blind.'

Chapter 9

Clause Structure and Clause types

Starting from Chapter 4, this dissertaton has concentrated on the different classes of lexical items, and the behavior of items which belong to these classes, such as what affixes verbs can take, what positions they can occur in a clause, the order between modifiers and nouns, etc.

This chapter does not focus on a particular lexical class, however. Instead, it describes the way words can fit together to form a clause. In particular, it focuses on the structure of a *predicative* clause. Predication refers to the assertion that a speaker makes about a participant in a clause. Predicates prototypically contain a noun, the word in the clause which is the referent of the assertion, and a verb, the word in the clause that denote the action which is predicated (Croft raft).

The goal in this chapter is to describe different types of predicative constructions, the ordering of the constituents in the clause, and the grammatical relations arguments have with the predicate. It moves from more prototypical types of predicative constructions, such as basic finite predicates, and slowly develops into more complex types of clauses. Finite predicate construction types include Intransitive, Transitive, Ditransitive, Stative, Impersonal, Copular, Possessive, and Locative.

Moving on to more complex types of constructions, different types of non-finite constructions are then considered, such as the Narrative, the Gerund, and Imperative types.

Following that, verb-linking strategies in a single clause are then examined, in particular serial verb constructions and auxilary verb constructions. Counterfactual constructions are also included, which focus on the idea that event did not actually take place.

The next two sections consider the different ways in which questions and negation are formed in Uduk. The chapter ends with a discussion of complex predicates and their functions.

9.1 Basic Clause Structure

As described earlier in Chapter 8, there are various predicative constructions, depending on number of arguments, the ordering of these arguments, and the verb type.

Grammatical relations in Uduk are distinguished both by the position in the clause as well as the case marking in which an argument might have. Clause-initial position is reserved for the 'topic' of the construction, i.e. what the clause is about, and it always occurs in the Absolutive, or unmarked, form.

A maximal projection of the basic clause is given below:

Topic V A IO O Partargument Particle Adv

Prototypical examples of intransitive and transitive clause types could be seen as follows:

(646) Intransitive

à 'cí 'kūṯ-ú'd
CL2 child cough:IPFV-3SG

'The child coughed.'

(647) Transitive, A-Voice

wàthí? 'cíth-í'd ā yí'd
man cut:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 skin

'The man cut the skin.'

(648) Transitive, O-Voice

tāshá wò'c mà 'ká
snake bite:IPFV ERG.CL2 dog

'The dog bit the snake.'

Single-argument (intransitive) clauses place S in initial position, with subject cross-referencing marked on the verb. S does not receive case-marking, and any additional adverbials or particles occur after the verb. Adverbials do have some flexibility in their placements, however; if an adverbial is placed preverbally, it occurs before S, and does not affect the ordering of S and V.

Although S is cross-referenced on the verb, subject expression may not be omitted except in certain types of clause linking. An overt pronoun or noun in the S slot is otherwise required, even in situations in which it may be inferred from

context. Exceptions in which post-verbal S appears in an 'Ergative' (Marked Nominative) case is limited to particular types of subordinate clauses, discussed more in the following chapter.

For constructions with more than one core argument, however, the situation is more complex. Transitive clauses may be considered as predications with at least two core arguments, one of which functioning as A (the argument of a transitive clause that correlates most closely with the notion of Agent), the second functioning as O (the argument of a transitive clause that correlates most closely with the notion of Patient) (Comrie 1989).

Unlike most SV constructions, the position of the core arguments in transitive constructions is more flexible, depending on information structure as well as inherent verbal semantics. If A is placed in clause-initial position, this is described here as A-Voice. If O is placed in clause-initial position, this is described as O-Voice. The argument which is placed in this privileged preverbal position is known as the 'topic' of the construction. *Topic* refers to referents which are more identifiable and activated, following Lambrecht (1994).

A-Voice constructions are those in which A occupies the preverbal position of a transitive clause. They correlate more closely with the typological notion of a prototypical transitive clause. The A argument shares more semantic features with Agent, such as high degrees of animacy, volitionality, control, and initiation. The O argument on the other hand shares more semantic features with the Patient, lacking volitionality, control, and initiation, and high in affectedness (Comrie 1981).

Structurally, the A argument of an A-Voice construction always appears in the Absolutive case. The O argument is morphologically marked for the Accusative case with Class II objects; Class I objects are marked in the absolutive, but trigger an additional change on the cross-referencing of A. A is cross-referenced for all person forms with Class II objects. Class I objects on the other hand inhibit the realization of cross-referencing on all person forms except for 1SG, 1PI, and 1PE. Thus, the constructions are distinguished partially by the existence or lack of cross referencing of A, in addition to the case marking of O. As mentioned earlier, the Accusative case marker for Class II objects phonologically attaches to the verb.

If additional derived arguments are added to an A-Voice construction, these are placed post-verbally, with the ordering of the two O arguments based to some extent on animacy. Derived arguments primarily result from applicative constructions with the AD1 marker *kí*, in which there is an extra benefactive goal or recipient. These arguments are always placed in the position immediately following the verb. Derived arguments which are inanimate in nature are more varied in their order, discussed further in section 9.4. Only the position immediately following the verb is considered as a syntactic O argument; Accusative case marking may only apply to this argument, as well as the licensing for the cross-referencing of A. That is, the verbal agreement patterns will follow whatever argument directly follows the verb. Adding a benefactive argument is only possible with constructions which already have at least two arguments.

O-Voice constructions are those in which A is not the 'topic', and the A argu-

ment occurs in the position immediately following the verb. O Voice constructions downplay the centrality of the agent with respect to the patient, and they rank lower in semantic transitivity. In terms of semantic features, the O argument is more often higher in animacy and affectedness, low in volitionality and control. It is also much more frequently definite. A is low in affectedness, but also less animate and volitional than a prototypical agent. Prototypical O-Voice constructions include experiencer constructions as well as functional inverse constructions.

O-Voice constructions have no argument cross-referencing on the verb. A is case-marked with the Ergative case, with variations in the marker depending on the grammatical gender of the A argument. For bivalent O-Voice constructions, the O argument occurs in clause-initial position, marked with the Absolutive case. In situations where the O argument may be inferred from context, it may be omitted from the clause structure.

If there are additional derived arguments, there is flexibility in terms of where the argument is placed. If O occupies the initial position, then derived arguments are placed directly after A. Derived arguments may also occur in the preverbal topic position, in which case O is placed directly after A. In either case, A is always directly after the verb, and no other arguments are allowed between the verb and A. Furthermore, neither argument is marked for case, both occurring in the Absolutive form.

9.2 Intransitive Constructions

Intransitive constructions are those in which there is an intransitive predicate with a single core argument, S, in an intransitive subject function (Comrie 1989). Intransitive constructions place an unmarked S in initial position, with subject cross-referencing marked on the verb. Intransitive constructions are strictly single-argument constructions, and are not able to increase valency by adding benefactive arguments to the VP. Impersonal constructions are also treated separately from Intransitive constructions, as these suppress arguments from both monovalent as well as bivalent constructions.

Intransitive constructions are strict in their constituent order, and S does not occur post-verbally in main clauses. Adverbials may be placed clause initially, but this does not affect the ordering of S and V. Most adverbials and prepositional phrases however, do occur post-verbally.

(649) *à* *máŋgà* *t̲á?-án* *'péní* *mís*
CL2 mango drop:IPFV-3PL from:CL1 sky

'The mangoes are falling.'

(650) *à* *k̲ó'bā* *sū'k-ú'd* *í* *bwàmbòr* *gù'b*
CL2 corn stack:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 front house

'The corn is stacked in front of the house.'

(651) *à* *'kwāk̲gwărā?* *dǐ-'d* *í* *'kúp̲àn* *gù'b*
CL2 spider exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 top house

'The spider is on the ceiling.'

It is common for the same verb root to be shared with both transitive as well as intransitive constructions. Intransitive constructions include many anti-causative or 'middle voice' constructions, such as in example (652), where the dog is hiding not something else but rather itself.

(652) *à* *'ká* *bǎk-á'd*
CL2 dog hide:IPFV-3SG

'The dog is hiding.'

(653) *à* *'ká* *bǎ'k* *tōŋkámú*
CL2 dog hide:IPFV something

'The dog is hiding something.'

Most weather-related constructions use intransitive predicate constructions.

(654) *à* *shó'k* *hèth-é'd*
CL2 rain fall:IPFV-3SG

'It's raining; the rain is falling.'

However, note that these also may be used in transitive constructions.

(655) *à* *shó'k* *hèth-é'd* *ā* *wàsá?*
CL2 rain fall:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 hail

'It's hailing; the hail is falling.'

Many verb roots are also able to alternate between intransitive and stative predicate types. The most common difference between the two constructions is that the intransitive construction denotes a change of state, whereas the stative constructions focuses on a property or unchanging state. Most change of state constructions use *mò*.

Examples below are repeated from section 8.11.

(626, repeated) *yì'dé? cā-'d mò*
water grow:PFV-3SG MO

'The river (lit: water) has grown, increased in volume.'

(627, repeated) *yì'dé? cā-á cā*
water big-STV REDUP

'The river (lit: water) is big'

(628, repeated) *á'dī bùl-á bùl*
3SG rot-STV REDUP

'It is putrid, it is rotten-smelling.'

(629, repeated) *á'dī bùl-ù'd mò bè*
3SG rot:PFV-3SG MO BE

'It has gone bad, it has become putrid-smelling.'

9.3 Transitive Constructions

Transitive constructions are clauses with at least two core arguments which function as A (the argument of a transitive clause that correlates most closely with the notion of Agent) and O (the argument of a transitive clause that correlates most closely with the notion of Patient) (Comrie 1989). Most verbs in Uduk tend to be ambitransitive; however, cross-referencing of arguments on the verb and case marking do work differently in different types of transitive constructions. As O can be optionally omitted in many transitive constructions, and Uduk makes frequent use of dummy arguments, determining transitivity of a construction is primarily through examining the morphological means of marking the construction.

Transitive constructions may be separated out into two main types, A-Voice and O-Voice, depending on what argument is placed in clause-initial position[1]. As mentioned previously, A-Voice constructions are those in which A is the 'topic' of the construction, found in the preverbal position. A-Voice constructions correlate more closely with the typological notion of a prototypical transitive predicate.

The preverbal A argument is always in the unmarked Absolutive case, with the post-verbal O argument morphologically marked for the Accusative case.

[1]Or, more importantly, depending on what argument is placed in immediate post-verbal position, as O-Voice constructions optionally omit the O argument. This omission is only permitted in O-Voice constructions, however, so it does not affect the construction labelling.

Overt marking only applies to Class II objects; Class I objects are marked in the Absolutive, but trigger an additional change on the cross-referencing of A on the verb. With Class II objects, A is cross-referenced for all person forms. Class I objects on the other hand inhibit the realization of cross-referencing on all person forms except for 1SG, 1PI, and 1PE. Thus, the primary distinction between the two constructions is often whether or not A is overtly cross-referenced on the verb, in addition to the case marking of O. As mentioned earlier, the Accusative case marker for Class II objects phonologically attaches to the verb.

(656) *ámn̄ ’kōshá mìyà kā yémpā gòmà ī’th*
1PE kill:IPFV-1PE goat.PL with.CL2 always for.CL2 Christmas

‘We always kill a goat for Christmas.’

(657) *à nyùrúny ḉór-ó’d ā ’bú’th í ’pény cwá*
CL2 hyena wait:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 monkey LOC.CL1 under tree

‘The hyena is waiting for the monkey under the tree.’

(658) *ārí wàshán ’kósh-ó’d ā k̲úrā bwày nyàrá?*
DIM.SG:CL1 boy hit:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 ball to girl

‘The boy kicked the ball to the girl.’

(659) *á’dī ’cī’th bùnyjè*
3SG cut:IPFV cloth

‘She’s cutting the cloth.’

(660) *áhā shúmúṯ-á mè’d kā bìshkīīr*
1SG dry:IPFV-1SG hand with.CL2 towel

‘I’m drying my hands with a towel.’

(661) *à múm̀ pém lòl-ó’d ā dhàm í mís cwá*
CL2 friend POSS.1SG collect:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 honey LOC.CL1 top tree

‘My friend is collecting honey at the top of the tree.’

(662) *à kákāré? sī'dā shwǎ-'d ā yìsh à dhàm*
CL2 woodpecker also eat:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 larva ASS.CL2 bee

'The woodpecker also eats bee larva.'

O-Voice constructions are those in which the A argument occurs in the position immediately following the verb. The O argument is then placed preverbally, marked with the Absolutive case. In situations where the O argument may be inferred from context, it may be omitted from the clause structure, potentially creating a verb-initial construction. This is rare in independent clauses, however.

Unlike A-Voice constructions, there is no argument cross referencing on the verb. Instead, the post-verbal A is case-marked with the Ergative case, with variations in the case marker depending on the grammatical gender of the A argument. Verbs ending in a vowel add also the suffix *-n* in O-Voice constructions, the origin of which is still unknown. Like the Accusative, the Ergative case markers phonologically attach to the end of verb roots.

Most experiencer constructions use the O-Voice, as in examples (663, 664, and 665).

(663) *wàthí 'kōsh mā sū*
man hit:IPFV ERG.CL2 beer

'The man is drunk (lit: The beer hits the man).'

(664) *áhā 'cé'd ā ē*
1SG break:IPFV ERG.CL1 eye.PART

'I am sleepy (lit: The eye breaks me).'

(665) *à 'bóm bŭth ā yì'dé*
CL2 woman grab:IPFV ERG.CL1 water

'The woman is thirsty (lit: The water grabs the woman).'

O-Voice constructions also commonly occur with referents which are more definite, identifiable and activated, otherwise known as 'old information'. In example (666), the speaker first introduces the idea of a woodpecker.

(666) *kí é mìsh-ín ā kákāré?*
COMP 2SG see:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 woodpecker

'When you see a woodpecker,'

The referent remains the topic of the following construction.

(667) *kí* *á'dī* *ūr* *mā* *dhàm*
COMP 3SG chase:IPFV ERG.CL2 bee

'and it is being chased by a bee,'

In example (668), the speaker uses the anaphoric demonstratives *yín* and *mún* to show that the camel was a previous topic of conversation, as was the location in question. They then link the first clause with a second clause, keeping the camel as the inferred topic.

(668) *à* *nǎkā* *yín* *gǎm-kā* *mún*
CL2 camel DEM.ANPH find.IPFV-ERG.1SG DEM.LOC.ANPH
sű́s-kā *pā* *mò*
lead:IPFV-ERG.1SG home MO

'I found that camel there (and) brought (it) home.'
(Uduk Primer 1965)

The following examples comes from a story about the hunter Jisalan. The previous sentences in the story mention Jisalan throwing more spears than anyone else, and killing more animals than anyone else. After mentioning bringing back the meat, the speaker then says:

(669) *yĭsā* *ŋwà-n* *à* *ám̄* *yĭsâ*
NEG forget:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 1PE NEG

'We won't forget (him).'

(670) *hádɨ̄* *yĭsā* *ŋwá-d* *kā* *tō-ŋ* *'kósh* *yĭsâ*
3SG NEG forget:PFV-3SG with.CL2 thing-ASS kill:PFV NEG

'He doesn't forget to kill the animal.'

(671) *wàzɨ́* *yùh-ù* *kɨ́* *Jɨ̀sàláñ*
person call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Jisalan

'The man is called Jisalan.'

The first example is in an O-Voice construction. Jisalan is easily identifiable as the topic of the discussion, and the speaker omits mentioning his name or a pronominal referent. Jisalan then continues to be the topic of the discussion.

In example (672), the speaker is discussing marriage practices, and why the Uduk marry at a young age. Again, the O argument is omitted, as it is understood from the context.

(672) *yǐsā mùr à wàshán dǒō màsh yǐsā tíyā*
NEG AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1 boy again marry:PFV NEG other

'No boy would ever marry (her)'

O-Voice constructions are also often found in answers to questions, as in example (674).

(673) *ī-Mísā ŏ kūm kí: tá'dā, mánè 'kwā yì'dé*
AP-Misa say:IPFV their.mother COMP mother, where gourd water
mánè?
where

'Misa and the others asked their mother, 'Mother, where is the water gourd?' ' (Uduk Primer 1965)

(674) *kūm kí ó á'dī kí: 'kwā yì'dé ŋá-yí-kā*
their.mother NARR say 3SG COMP gourd water forget:PFV-AD2-ERG.1SG
mò í pā
MO LOC.CL1 home

'His mother told him, 'I forgot the water gourd back home.' ' (Uduk Primer 1965)

9.4 Ditransitive Constructions

Ditransitive clauses are constructions with a verb conjugated in one of the transitive paradigms with three arguments: A (corresponding to agent), IO (the indirect object, such as recipient or beneficiary), and O (the object, corresponding to the theme). As noted earlier, the semantic roles of recipient and beneficiary use the same morphological encoding in Uduk. Ditransitive constructions do not occur in Uduk without overt morphology; to add an additional beneficiary argument, the AD1 marker *-kí* is placed on the verb. Adding recipients or beneficiary arguments is only possible with transitive constructions, and constructions like 'The child ran for me' are not possible.

Ditransitive constructions have the same flexibility as other types of transitive constructions in terms of constituent order, and the topic of the construction may be either the theme, the recipient, or the agent.

(675) *áhā hāsh-kí-ná é à gǔrùsh mò*
1SG send:PFV-AD1-1SG 2SG CL2 money MO

'I sent you the money.'

(676) *à wărkā ḉí-kí-kā é mò*
CL2 book give:PFV-AD1-ERG.1SG 2SG MO

'I already gave you the book.'

(677) *é ḉí-kí-kā à wărkā mò*
2SG give:PFV-AD1-ERG.1SG CL2 book MO

'I already gave you the book.'

If a pronominal form occurs next to the AD marker, it is common in fast speech for the pronoun and the AD marker to combine, the vowel of *kí* eliding.

(678) *únī kí 'cíth-ké mì mò*
3PL NARR cut-AD1:2SG goat MO

'They slaughter (lit: cut) a goat for you.'
(James 1979, Father's People)

Only the argument immediately following the verb is marked for case. If both objects are placed after the verb, the animate argument is placed first.

(679) *á'dī sí-kí cōm ēmén ā cīlé*
3SG plant:IPFV-AD1 his.father seed ASS.CL2 lentil

'He is planting lentil seeds for his father.'

(680) *áhā sí-kí-ná ā kām pém ēmén ā*
1SG plant:IPFV-AD1-1SG ACC.CL2 brother POSS.1SG seed ASS.CL2
cīlé
lentil

'I'm planting lentil seeds for my brother.'

Inanimate beneficiaries are very rare, but when they occur, the ordering of the objects is reversed.

(681) *á'dī gŭ-kí mà gù'b*
3SG bring:IPFV-AD1 food house

'He brought food to the house.'

The AD marker is ambiguous in meaning with directionality and valency; however, it is not possible to add additional arguments to intransitive clauses, even when using the AD marker in a purely directional sense.

(682) **à ’cí gŭs-kí á’dī mò*
*CL2 child run:IPFV-AD1 3SG MO

‘The child ran to him.’

Prepositional phrases are instead used, such as *í* or *bwày*.

(683) *à ’cí gŭs-kí-’d í á’dī mò*
CL2 child run:IPFV-AD1-3SG LOC.CL1 3SG MO

‘The child ran to him.’

Prepositional phrases are the only way to add beneficiaries for intransitive clauses, or if there is another suffix on the verb in the same slot as the AD1 marker. Examples (685) and (686) show two different possible strategies in forming a benefactive construction.

(684) *áhā gŭs-á gòmà bàbă ŏ-y-áā? kí gùs*
1SG run:IPFV-1SG for.CL2 father say:IPFV-AD2-ACC.1SG COMP run
mò
MO

‘I’m running because of my father telling me to run.’

(685) *wàthí? ’cĭ’th-kí é cwá*
man cut:IPFV-AD1 2SG tree

‘The man is cutting the tree for you.’

(686) *wàthí ’cĭ’th cwá gòm é*
man cut:IPFV tree for 2SG

‘The man is cutting the tree for you.’

9.5 Stative Constructions

Stative constructions are intransitive or transitive constructions with stative verbs describing the property or state of an attributant. They are conceptualized as time-stable states of an entity, denoting concepts such as qualities,

appearances, shapes, and materials. Stative verbs are generally atelic, and do not use aspect or directionality markers. As they can be both transitive as well as intransitive, they cannot be discussed as a part of either transitive or intransitive constructions.

With intransitive stative constructions, stative verbs use a reduplicating pattern of the verb which has no aspect markers, directionality markers, or agreement marking on the verb. Only one preverbal argument occurs with these constructions.

(687) *à ḵúŋkūthé? gò'd-á gò'd*
CL2 chameleon green-STV REDUP

'The chameleon is green.'

(688) *árá kām mā Dăsī kūṯ-á ḵūt mò bè*
DIM.CL2 brother GEN.CL2 Dasi short-STV REDUP MO EMPH

'Dasi's little brother is short.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

(689) *únī kí ó gò kí yì'dé 'té'd-á 'tē'd tí*
3PL NARR say word.PART COMP water shallow-STV REDUP QUOT

'They said that the water was shallow.' (Uduk Primer 1965)

Transitive stative constructions work slightly differently than intransitive. They use normal transitive constructions with an additional reduplicated verb root complement after immediate post-verbal argument. That is, the post-verbal argument is actually placed in between the two parts of the verbal complex. Transitive stative constructions primarily occur with O-Voice constructions, but stative constructions in A-Voice do occur.

(690) *á'dī dhěl ā ē kí dhèl*
3SG blind ERG.CL1 eye.PART COMP *redup*

'He's blind.'

(691) *ē dhěl á'dī kí dhèl*
eye.PART blind 3SG COMP *redup*

'He's blind (used as an explanation for something).'

(692) *áhā ʼbór ā bwà kí ʼbōr*
1SG good ERG.CL1 stomach.PART COMP REDUP

'I am happy.'

(693) *gù'b ʼbíth ā yól kí ʼbī'th*
house strong ERG.CL1 trade COMP REDUP

'The house is expensive.'

As complex predicate constructions also can denote a property or state, it is common to find these constructions in place of or alongside of transitive stative constructions. These constructions are discussed more in section 9.19.

(694) *ʼcé ḵás-á ḵās*
ear itch-STV REDUP

'(My) ear itches.'

(695) *áhā ḵās ā īs*
1SG itch:IPFV ERG.CL1 body.PART

'I am itching; my body is itching.'

(696) *ālbŭn ʼbí'th ā shē kí ʼbī'th*
coffee strong ERG.CL1 tooth.PART COMP REDUP

'The coffee is expensive.'

(697) *ālbŭn yĭsā ʼbí'th ā shē=yà*
coffee NEG strong ERG.CL1 tooth.PART=NEG

'The coffee is not expensive.'

9.6 Impersonal Constructions

Overt valency reduction is fairly limited in Uduk. Many verbs tend to be ambitransitive; transitive verbs are able to create a type of antipassive construction

by simply using the monovalent conjugation paradigm[2]. This leaves the object unstated, focusing on the action of the verb in some way. O-Voice constructions may also optionally omit O arguments from the clause.

It is not possible to omit A or S arguments in independent clauses, however, without overt morphology. The Impersonal construction is used to suppress the realization of S or A arguments. It is formed by suffixing *-ù* (*-nù*) onto the end of a verb. The Impersonal is insensitive to the classes of input verbs, and commonly occurs with monovalent as well as bivalent constructions. Uduk does not allow for suppressed S or A arguments to be expressed through oblique agent phrases, and suppletive verb roots tend to occur in the plural, regardless of the topic of the construction. Impersonalization of bivalent constructions is valency-preserving, and O arguments are not promoted to S[3].

Impersonal constructions are particularly common with giving names, using the verb *yúk̲* 'to call' with the complementizer *kí*.

(698) *yàú wʉ̀dɨ́ jàntān tāní ɨ́ pā bămn̄ yùk̲-ù*
so water DEM.MED PHM LOC.CL1 village POSS.1PE call:IPFV-IMPRS
kí jìs à nàŋà
COMP hole ASS.CL2 crocodile

'That river in our village is called the Hole of the Crocodile.'

(699) *wàthí ās-ù kí yà-'d mò*
man fight:IPFV-IMPRS COMP go:PFV-3SG MO

'Fighting was taking place while the man left for somewhere else.'

(700) *à k̲ó'bà sī-nù mò 'bár mò kí dhèyĕ*
CL2 corn plant:PFV-IMPRS MO finish MO COMP entire

'All of the corn was planted.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(701) *wàthí lúŋ-kú-nù mò*
man bow:PFV:AD1-IMPRS MO

'The man was bowed to.'

[2]This only applies to a certain subclass of verbs, however. Current research suggests that verbs pattern into different semantic subtypes in terms of argument selection, and verbs may be unaccusative as well as unergative. The verb *shwá*, 'to eat', for instance, would fall into the unergative category, e.g. 'The girl is eating (something)'. The verb *bà'k* on the other hand, 'to hide', patterns in an unaccusative way, such as 'The dog is hiding (itself)'. More research is needed to determine the details of these subtypes.

[3]I view these pieces of evidence sufficient for calling this an impersonal rather than a passive, but researchers have taken different views over what criteria is sufficient in order for a construction to be called a passive. Following Blevin's (2003) criteria, Uduk fits what Blevins calls a subjectless impersonal construction.

(702) *mì* *yǐsā* *ɕ́í-kú-nù* *é* *yǐsā,* *jàs* *bìp* *á'dī*
goat NEG give:IPFV-AD1-IMPRS 2SG NEG, only cow 3SG
ɕ́í-kú-nù *é*
give:IPFV-AD1-IMPRS 2SG

'Goats are not given to you, only cows are given to you.'
(James 1979, Father's People)

(703) *mè'd* *súm* *'kósh-ù* *tēn* *yǐsâ* *wǔ-'d* *kí*
as python kill:PFV-IMPRS PHM NEG die:PFV-3SG COMP
jàhànè = yà
quickly = NEG

'The python was beaten but (it) did not die quickly.'

(704) *tō* *ā* *'dán* *jìn* *mǐ-'d* *kā*
thing IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL.SG do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-3SG with.CL2
cím *jìn* *pī-nù* *'péní* *Pāsūdân*
day REL.SG leave:IPFV-IMPRS from:CL1 Sudan

'So this is what happened during the time (people) left Sudan.'

In instances where plural roots differ from singular roots, the Impersonal typically occurs with the plural form.

(705) *wàthí* *só-nù* *kí* *dǐ-'d*
man run.PL:IPFV-IMPRS COMP be.located:IPFV-3SG

'People (or someone plural who is unstated) were running around while the man was there.'

9.7 Copular Constructions

Copular constructions refer to constructions in which an NP is linked with a nominal predicate NP with the verb *tā*, 'to be (someone, something)'. In rare instances, this also is with adjectival complements, such as with colors. *Tā* is a regular verb which primarily forms transitive predicates.

(706) *á'dī* *tā* *gù'b* *à* *'bórgà?*
3SG COP:PFV house ASS.CL2 good

'It's a good house.'

(707) *yì'dé tā-'d ā rìs*
water COP:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 many

'There is a lot of water.'

(708) *tā ēmbŭl jìn 'bíth-á 'bīth kāgàhárā*
COP:PFV time REL.SG hard-STV REDUP very

'It was a very difficult time.'

(709) *à kákāré tāní á'dī tā tō jìn t̲ŏ́r 'kwāní bwày à 'dán*
CL2 woodpecker PHM 3SG COP:PFV thing REL.SG show:IPFV people way IDENT DEM.VB.PROX

'(As for) the woodpecker, he is the one which shows people the way.'

(710) *à wărkā tā kúsh*
CL2 book COP:PFV white

'The book is white.'

9.8 Predicative Possessive Constructions

Predicative possessive constructions express ownership of one entity by another. They are formed by the copula *tā* along with the Class I Genitive marker *gì*. Unlike Genitive constructions, however, *gì* becomes *gà* before Class II nouns, not *mā*. *Tā* always conjugates as if there were a Class I object, and has irregularities with word order changes.

(711) *wàthí? tā gì mì*
man COP:PFV PP.CL1 goat

'The man has a goat.'

In O-Voice, *gì* is omitted from the construction. The meaning of the construction is also changed, and *tā* refers to outright ownership rather than possession.

(712) *mì tā-n ā wàthí?*
goat COP:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 man

'The man owns a goat.'

Predicative possessive constructions are flexible, being able to express both temporary as well as permanent possession.

(713) *áhā tā-ná gà 'ká*
1SG COP:PFV-1SG PP.CL2 dog

'I have a dog.'

(714) *ánā tā-nà gà ṯú'c mònté*
1PI COP:PFV-1PI PP.CL2 work afternoon

'We have work this afternoon.'

(715) *à nǒs jǎntān tā gì jùsán*
CL2 pot DEM.MED COP:PFV PP.CL1 hole

'That pot has a hole.'

(716) *'kwāní yǐsà̄ tā gì tōṉté? jìn shwā-n-ūnī*
people NEG COP:PFV PP.CL1 food REL.SG eat:IPFV-NAS-ERG.3PL
yǐsà̄
NEG

'People didn't have food to eat.'

9.9 Existential and Locative Constructions

Predicative existence and location are expressed primarily through the verb *dì*, 'to be somewhere; to sit, stay, keep' as well as its suppletive form *'kó* for plural roots. Without an expressed location through prepositional phrases, they denote an entity's existence; this construction is frequently used in place of predicative possession.

(717) *à gălám dǐ-'d=í?*
CL2 pen exist.SG:IPFV-3SG=Q

'Do you have a pen? (lit: is there a pen?)'

(718) *nyè, cōm wʉ̀dí 'kó-n bè*
yes, owner water exist.PL:PFV-3PL EMPH

'Yes the owners of the water were (there).' (Note: Yabus Uduk)

(719) *à dhàm yĭsā̀ ’kó-n=à*
CL2 honey NEG exist.PL:PFV-3PL=NEG

‘There wasn’t any honey.’

If a prepositional phrase is used, *dì* and *’kó* may also be used to express a location.

(720) *Dŭnkúl dĭ-y-í’d í Pāsūdân gòmà pé ’dé?*
Dunkul exist.SG:IPFV-AD2-3SG LOC.CL1 Sudan for.CL2 month one

‘Dunkul stayed in Sudan for a month.’

(721) *à gălàm dĭ-’d á p̲ó ā thārpésā*
CL2 pen exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL2 top ASS.CL2 table

‘The pen is on top of the table.’

(722) *gù’b dĭ-’d í bwàmán ā gòŋ*
house exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 inside ASS.CL2 fence

‘The house is inside the fence.’

(723) *wàthí dĭ-’d í ’dísh ō’d īs*
man exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 near fire body.PART

‘The man is near the fire.’

Note that the verb *c̲ā’b* ‘to sit, keep, stay’ is also used for some locative constructions. It uses the same suppletive plural root as *dì*, *’kó*. The difference in semantics between *c̲ā’b* and *dì* still require further research.

(724) *á’dī c̲á’b-á’d í Pāŋgàlé?*
3SG stay:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 Ethiopia

‘He lives in Ethiopia.’

9.10 Non-Finite Constructions: Introduction

Non-finite constructions form an important part of Uduk grammar. The primary differences between finite and non-finite verbal predicates is that in non-finite constructions, arguments are not cross-referenced on the verb; there is

the possibility to use the itive and ventive suffixes *kú* and *ú*; and there are no tonal alternations on the verb root. This applies to aspectual changes as well as agreement alternations with Class I O arguments. Note that non-finite constructions DO allow for the possibility of AD morphemes *kí* and *í*, however.

Non-finite constructions occur in the following situations:

1. Narrative
2. Gerund
3. Imperative
4. After the verb linker *ì*
5. Serial verb constructions
6. After auxiliary verbs

9.11 Narrative

The Narrative construction in Uduk functions as a clause-chaining device, found with the morpheme *kí* preceding a non-finite verb root. It gives the idea of simultaneous or subsequent events. It is not uncommon for long strings of speech to occur together in which every clause after the first occurs in a Narrative construction.

The Narrative requires at least one argument as the topic of the construction, unless it occurs in the Impersonal; the role of the topic in the predicate is contextually understood rather than syntactically dictated.

In example (725), the argument of the Narrative, man, may function either as O or A, and only the context gives the meaning.

(725) *wàthí dǒsh-ó'd wàthí kí 'kósh*
man stand:IPFV-3SG man NARR hit

'The man is standing (and then) the man is hit' OR
'The man is standing (and then) the man hit (someone)'

If the Narrative occurs in an O-Voice construction, verbs which end in a vowel do not add the nasal.

(726) *à cí kí shwá ā nyòr mò*
CL2 creature NARR eat:PFV ERG.CL1 anger MO

'and he gets angry.'

If the Narrative occurs with stative verbs, they are not reduplicated.

(727) *bà tō yán yǐsâ kí ’bór í bwàmăn ’kwānímpā*
so thing DEM.PROX NEG COMP good LOC.CL1 among Uduk
yǐsâ
NEG

‘So this thing is not good among the Uduk people.’

The Narrative is more typically found with disjoint referents, or arguments different from the previous clause, as overt arguments must be stated in Narrative constructions.

(728) *kī ēmbŭl ā ké tāní ŋàp̲-í-n tāní ḿmò k̲ál*
with time ASS.CL2 some PHM want:IPFV-AD2-3PL PHM GER take
wà’c tíbà ’péní wàthí-ŋ kámú mó’dōn
fish TIBA from person-ASS other DEM.LOC.MED

‘At this time they wanted to take the fish from another person there.’

(729) *dhàlì wàthí kí nón á’dī kí wà’c tāní únī kí ’kósh*
and person NARR refuse 3SG COMP fish PHM 3PL NARR kill:PFV
wàthí-ŋ ké jàw mò kī ō’d
person-ASS some dead MO with fire

‘and the person refused (to give) him the fish, so they killed another man with a gun.’

It is also possible to re-use pronouns referring to the same referent.

(730) *dhàlì é kí wòl-kí ’pīny bèsé? bwàm mà nŏs*
and 2SG NARR pour-AD1 ashes BESENE inside GEN.CL2 pot
jăn tān
DEM.PROX2 PHM

‘And you pour the ashes then inside that pot.’

(731) *é kí wòl-kí yì’dé mà’dán tān*
2SG NARR pour-AD1 water DEM.LOC.MED PHM

‘You (then) pour the water there.’

(732) *é kí dhàl k̲á’b ’péná kámú-ŋ kámú? dŏk̲ ē*
2SG NARR let put from.CL2 other-ASS other again

‘You let (it) sit one on top of the other.’

9.12 Gerund

The term gerund here is used to refer to one type of non-finite verbal construction, in which the proclitic *ḿmò* combines with the verb root (written separately in this work). The gerund is used in a few different ways.

In the first use, it functions somewhat adverbially, showing the manner of an action.

Examples can be seen in (733) and (734).

(733) *kásān á'dī kí dì másān tāntānī ḿmò*
DEM.ADV.PROX 3SG NARR stay.SG:PFV DEM.LOC.PROX PHM GER
c̲ōr ā dhàm
wait:PFV ACC.CL2 bee

'Like that he stays there to wait for a bee.'

(734) *wàk̲kɨ́ 'kósh ā wàzɨ́ tānī́ á'dī kɨ́ yúk̲ gwày, á'dī*
if kill:PFV ERG.CL1 person PHM 3SG NARR call song, 3SG
kɨ́ 'cém gwày ḿmò sā Wàhá? ḿmò k̲ál 'kóp̲ tō pā
NARR sing song GER dance Waha GER carry head thing home

'if a man kills a wild animal, he sings, dancing the Waha while carrying the head home.'

The second use is as a purpose or reason for doing something. This can express intentionality, such as in (735) and (738), or a manner or cuasality, such as in examples (736) and (737).

(735) *'Kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ hàm à wá'd tānī́ ḿmò gàm shēt̲*
people NARR gather CL2 hunt PHM GER find antelope

'People gather for the hunt, to find the antelope.'

(736) *áhā rè'd-á ḿmò yà í bwày gì sī'dásī'd*
1SG be.stiff:PFV-1SG GER go.SG LOC.CL1 way REL.GI difficult

'I've become stiff from walking on the difficult road.'
(Beam and Cridland 1956)

(737) *bà à mómăk̲ tānī́ ḿmò mùth-ā'dī à mŭ'th*
so CL2 fox PHM GER trick:IPFV-ERG.3SG LNK trick:PFV
ē tānī́
eye.PART PHM

'As for the fox, by his tricking (people)'

(738) *á'dī kí gàm ēmbŭl tānī ḿmò yé mò*
3SG NARR find:PFV time PHM GER escape:PFV MO

'he gets a chance to escape.'

Agents of gerund phrases may be expressed as ergatively marked post-verbal arguments.

(739) *wàk̲ká shōk̲ héth-é'd mò tānī 'kwānī 'bár mò 'bór-á*
if.CL2 rain rain:IPFV-3SG MO PHM people ALL MO good:IPFV-STV
bwà kí 'bōr tānī ḿmò hè'th mà shōk̲
stomach.PART COMP REDUP PHM GER rain:PFV ERG.CL2 rain

'If it rains, everyone becomes happy because of it raining.'

9.13 Imperative Constructions

There are a number of different ways of forming Imperative constructions in Uduk. Imperatives are used as commands, and have a range of politeness levels. They frequently occur with the modal particle *má*, which softens the request.

A list of different Imperative construction possibilities is shown, with their general uses. The Imperative construction in Uduk is formed from the non-finite form of the verb, and may occur with non-finite directional markers. Not all verbs have the possibility to take all forms; AD markers in particular seem to be limited in terms of which verb roots they occur with. This limitation is lexically derived and unpredictable.

1. (y)ī, (y)ì (Basic Imperative)
2. kú? (Itive, Polite Imperative, Prohibitive)
3. (y)ú? (Ventive)
4. kí? (AD1)
5. í? (AD2)

Ventive *ú?*, Itive *kú?*, and the AD markers *kí?* and *í?* are pronounced with the glottal stop only in pre-pause position; in all other situations, these are pronounced as *kú*, *ú*, *kí*, and *í*.

9.13.1 Basic Imperative Constructions

The Uduk basic Imperative is formed from the verb root, plus the suffix *-ī*, which changes to a low *-ì* when directly following a low tone. If the Imperative would follow a vowel, the glide *y* is inserted in between the two vowels. There is generally no differentiation between singular and plural forms, aside from exceptional suppletive roots marking plurality such as *yà* 'go, sg.ánd *ī* 'go, pl.'

(740) *shwá-yī mò*
eat-IMP MO

'Eat!'

(741) *gùs-ì mò 'pénî masān*
run-IMP MO from:CL1 here

'Run away from here!'

(742) *é tēnî dàk̲-ì tō 'kósh mò!*
2SG PHM stop-IMP thing kill:PFV MO

'You! Stop beating him! '

The modal particle *má* is frequently encountered with Imperatives. Its meaning is still elusive, but it may be used to soften the command.

(743) *shūmūt̲-ī mè'd pīnî mò má*
dry-IMP hand POSS.2SG MO MA

'Dry your hands.'

9.13.2 Itive Imperative Constructions

Itive Imperative constructions stand in a paradigmatic relation to the basic Imperative morpheme. They are formed from the non-finite directionals *kú?* and *ú?*. Imperatives with *kú* generally reference motion away from the current location or deictic center.

(744) *gùs-kú mò 'pénî máhān*
run.SG-ITV MO from:CL1 DEM.LOC.PROX

'Run away from here!'

(745) *gùs-kú 'kúp̲ kí mún*
run.SG-ITV direction COMP DEM.LOC.ANPH

'Run to that place!'

(746) *băth-kú* *wàthí* *yánsān*
follow-ITV man DEM.PROX

'Follow that man (away from here)!'

Kú is also used to make polite Imperative constructions. These may be with verbs of motion as well as verbs of non-motion.

(747) *shwá-kú?*
eat-ITV

'(Go ahead and) eat!'

(748) *yà-kú?*
go.SG-ITV

'Go (away)!'

This type of construction is also found with parting phrases.

(749) *cā̱'b-kú* *bèsénē*
sit.SG-ITV BESENE

'Goodbye, stay well (said to one who is staying).'

(750) *ī-kú* *bèsénē*
go.PL-ITV BESENE

'Goodbye, go well (said to more than one who is leaving).'

Kú is also used with the verb *dhàl*, 'to let, leave' to form prohibitive constructions.

(751) *dhàl-kú* *kí* *yà* *mòŋkámú* *'péní* *pā*
leave-ITV COMP go somewhere from:CL1 home

'Don't go anywhere from home.'

(752) *dhàl-kú* *kí* *yà* *'dīsh* *jìs* *īs* *gòm* *é* *mí-n*
leave-ITV COMP go near hole body.PART for 2SG do.AUX:PFV-2SG
ì *bǐt̪* *í* *jìs*
LNK fall LOC.CL1 hole

'Don't go near the hole lest you fall.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

9.13.3 Ventive Imperative Constructions

The *-úʔ* (*-yúʔ*) ventive imperative is more limited in use than the itive. It is used in a strictly ventive sense, for the addressee to do whatever action they are doing towards the speaker. For verbs of motion, the difference between this and the AD2 imperative is minimal, although the Ventive Imperative is more frequent.

(753) *yà-yú* *dǒk̲ ē*
go.SG-VENT again

'Come again!'

(754) *'dō-yú* *tō*
bring.PLUR-VENT thing

'Bring the things here!'

(755) *bèl-ú* *tō*
push-VENT thing

'Push it towards me!'

For verbs of non-motion, this implies doing the action while moving towards the speaker.

(756) *shwá-yúʔ*
eat-VENT

'Eat (it while coming) towards me!'

9.13.4 AD1 Imperative Constructions

The AD1 marker *kí* may also combine with verb roots to create Imperative constructions, with a number of uses. The first use is that of a particular way of doing something, such as in example (757). This differs from the Itive imperative in that it is not simply that the addressee should go away, but the speaker is directing her where to go. This could be used for example if there was a fork in the road and the addressee is not sure which way to go. The speaker gestures to the appropriate direction and uses the AD1 Imperative.

(757) *yà-kí?*
go.SG-AD1

'Go (in that particular direction)!'

It is also used for describing a manner of an action. If someone is uncertain how to eat a particular object, a speaker could say something like example (758).

(758) *shwá-kí?*
eat-AD1

'Eat (in this manner or way)!'

A secondary use is found in which the addressee remains in the location to do the action, while the speaker then departs.

(759) *wús-kí tō*
clean-AD1 thing

'Clean it (while I am away)!'

(760) *k̲ór-kí mò mò*
hoe-AD1 place MO

'Hoe this place (after I leave)!'

9.13.5 AD2 Imperative Constructions

The *-í?* (*-yí?*) (AD2) Imperative is somewhat rare, and is used in a similar way as the AD2 marker itself. With verbs of motion, the AD Imperative gives a ventive reading, to do their action towards the speaker, similar to the Ventive Imperative.

(761) *yà-yí?*
go.SG-AD2

'Come here!'

(762) *bèl-í tō jǎn kā dhǒŋ*
push-AD2 thing DEM.MED this way

'Push it this way!'

Many verbs are restricted in the use of this construction.

(763) **gùs-íʔ*
*run-AD2

'Run here!' (intended meaning)

For verbs of non-motion, the use of the AD2 marker implies a continuity of the action.

(764) *shwá-yíʔ*
eat-AD2

'Keep on eating!'

9.13.6 Other types of Imperative Constructions

This section describes some other ways in which Imperative meanings can be formed.

Imperative constructions are possible through the use of modal particles without overt marking on the verb root.

(765) *bùk̲ īs mò 'té!*
pluck body.PART MO TE

'Keep back; keep away!'

Imperative (or hortative) constructions for 1PL have two possibilities. The most common way to form these is with a non-finite form with the 1PI ending *-à* (*nà*); this is a marked construction and the only way to interpret it is as a hortative.

(766) *ī-nà mò ní*
go.PL-1PI MO DEM

'Let's go.'

(767) *dhàlì tíyā-n tíyā kí ó kí: áȳ kárā ī-kí-nà mò*
and some-ASS some NARR say COMP: hey guys go.PL-AD1-1PI MO
dhàn bwày tí dì mò níñndè
great way QUOT exist.SG:PFV MO out

'And some of the others said 'Guys let's go, there is a great way out.'

(768) *pōsh-kí-nà 'té īs í dhàn mò yún*
jump-AD1-1PI just body.PART LOC.CL1 great place DEM.ANPH
dǐ-'d kí k̲wányk̲wány ínín má.'
exist.SG:IPFV-3SG COMP clear there MA'

'Let us just jump through that great way, which is clear.'

It is also possible to use the verb *dhàl*, 'to let, leave', with the complementizer *kí* to form hortative constructions. These may occur with any person form, not just 1PI.

(769) *dhàl kí ánā shwá-nà mà mò*
leave COMP 1PI eat:IPFV-1PI food MO

'Let's eat.'

(770) *dhàl kí ánā í-nà mò*
leave COMP 1PI go.PL:IPFV-1PI MO

'Let us go.'

9.14 The linker ì

It is worth describing the verb linker *ì* before describing verb linking, as it figures prominently in serial verb constructions and auxiliary verb constructions.

Like many other grammatical markers in Uduk, *ì* has a tendency to phonologically cliticize leftwards onto the immediately preceding element. Unlike most other markers, however, *ì* has a further tendency of changing its vowel quality to match whatever vowel immediately precedes. It even sometimes disappears entirely, leaving its tone behind. In order to emphasize the existence of the marker, I chose to write it separately, following the same strategy as with other leftward-moving grammatical markers. Its tonal status is uncertain, and it may have some changes between M and L; this requires further investigation.

In terms of use, *ì* fulfills a number of functions. First, it is the most basic means of connecting two or more verbs in a predicate. This is most commonly found

with serial verb constructions and auxiliary verb constructions. Its position is always immediately before a verb, although its movement leftwards can sometimes obscure this.

(771) *é mí-n ì mí ì gàm mí-n tíyā mò wărī*
2SG do.AUX:PFV-2SG LNK do LNK find do-ASS other MO maybe
í má'dān
LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.MED

'Perhaps you end up finding something else there.'

However, *ì* also has some modal connections dealing with irrealis situations referring to the strength of conviction of the speaker. It is most commonly used for any hypothetical or potential situation, such as future conditions, desires, possibilities, conditionals, etc.: situations in which the outcome is less certain. It is required in most instances with other persons than 1SG, as the speaker cannot know for certain the minds of other people. With 1SG, however, it is possible to omit, giving a change in meaning.

As a contrast, in example (772), the speaker uses an auxiliary construction without *ì*. In this case, it shows that the speaker is going to do the action almost immediately, and that there is no doubt in his mind that this will actually occur.

(772) *áā Bŭtrȍs mùr-á ṯór ā ṯōr gòm cúḳ, jìn*
1SG Butros will.AUX:IPFV-1SG tell ACC.CL2 tell about filter, REL.SG
cūḳ-ánā mă̱ṯ
filter:IPFV-ERG.1PI mat

'I Butros am going to talk about filtering with ashes, ash broth that we filter.'

On a broader scale, *ì* can also function as a type of syntactic pivot used to link separate predicates which use the same subject; the form of the verb after *ì* remains in a non-finite form, however. The term subject is used here to refer to constructions in which S can link with A or S, or A linking with A or S; Impersonal constructions and O-Voice constructions may link with each other, but not with S or A.

The following four examples were elicited through the use of the Questionnaire on Information Structure (QUIS) (Skopeteas et al. 2006).

(773) S = S

wàthí? dŏsh-ó'd ì yà 'dé'k shō'k āràbíyā?
man stand:IPFV-3SG LNK go lift foot vehicle

'The man is standing and goes to lift a tire.'

(774) S = A

à 'bóm dŏsh-ó'd ì 'kósh ā k̲úrsē
CL2 woman stand:IPFV-3SG LNK hit ACC.CL2 chair

'The woman is standing and hits a chair.'

(775) *S = O

**wàthí? dĭ-'d ì kwān mā gàsáās*
*man exist:IPFV-3SG LNK hit GEN.CL2 bottle

'The man was sitting there and hit by a bottle.'

(776) *S = O_{IMPRS}

**à 'bóm dŏsh-ó'd ì bĕl-ù*
*CL2 woman stand:IPFV-3SG LNK push-IMPRS

'The woman is walking and then was pushed.'

(777) A = A

à nyáw ūr-ú'd ā 'tı́k̲ ì bù'th mò
CL2 cat chase:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 rat LNK catch MO

'The cat chased the rat and caught it.'

(778) O = O

wàthí-n 'dí? ūr ā 'kwānı́ ì bù'th mò
person-ASS steal chase:IPFV ERG.CL1 people LNK catch MO

'The thief was chased by the people and caught.'

9.15 Serial Verb Constructions

Following Aikhenvald (2006), a serial verb construction is ..."a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event" (Aikhenvald 2006, p. 1).

In Uduk serial verb constructions, there are at least two verb roots in a single predicate, the first verb of the series bearing finite inflectional morphology and further verbs occurring in a non-finite form. Tonal aspectual changes and argument cross-referencing are possible only for the first verb of the construction; further verbs must stay consistent with scope and aspect.

A typical example of a serial verb construction is found in example (779). Many verbs involving motion form part of serial verb constructions.

(779) *á'dī kí yà 'púny ā rìhàny mò tānī*
3SG NARR go cut ACC.CL2 grass MO PHM

'He then goes grass cutting.'

Similar to auxiliary constructions, *ì* often is used to link the verbs. However, unlike auxiliary construction, all verbs in serial verb constructions contribute lexical meaning to the predicate. They nonetheless form a more tightly integrated action than separate predicative constructions.

(780) *dhàlà nyùrúny kí 'dé'k á'dī ì k̲ál ì yà kār-ú*
and.CL2 hyena NARR lift 3SG LNK carry LNK go.SG set-VENT
gù'b wòsh
house stone

'And a hyena picked him up and carried and put (him) in a stone house.'

(781) *dhàn jì-n túr-á tūr kí lá à pósh*
great DEF.GEN.SG-ASS tall-STV REDUP NARR go.quickly LNK jump
mǒ t̲wā?ā là à yà mò
MO:LOC.CL1 first go.quickly:IPFV LNK go.SING MO

'The tallest one quickly jumped first.'

Many constructions which have somewhat of an adverbial function are actually verbal in nature, such as the verb *'bár*, 'to finish', used as a completive or to refer to everyone in a situation, or *dǒk̲ ē*, 'to repeat', used to mean again[4]. These are not auxiliary constructions as they generally occur in the last position in the verb serialization, not the first; however, they could be viewed as serial verb constructions.

(782) *á'dī kí lǒl ā dhàm mò mǔr ì yà*
3SG NARR collect ACC.CL2 honey MO will.AUX:IPFV:AD2 LNK go
'bár mò tānī
finish MO PHM

'He collects the honey, until it's almost finished.'

[4]Note that *dǒk̲ ē* is frequently shortened to *dǒ* when used to mean again

(783) *ʼkwāní kí thōsōn īs dǒk̲ ē tān ḿmò rús gùʼb*
people NARR prepare body.PART again PHM GER mud house
bwàmán mò bèsénēʔ
inside MO BESENE

'People then start preparing themselves again for mudding the inner house.'

(784) *hádī bòr-ɨ́ cú ʼpéní mʉ́nán tāní yúk̲*
3SG hold:PFV-AD2 horn from:CL1 some.place.DEM PHM call:PFV
ʼkwāzɨ́ pā ʼbár mò
people village finish MO

'He ran with the horn from some place to call all the people.'
(Note: Yabus Uduk)

(785) *gùʼb rús-ù ʼbár mò*
house mud:PFV-IMPRS finish MO

'All of the house was mudded.'

9.16 Auxiliary Verb Constructions

Auxiliary verb constructions form a type of serial verb constructions, in which the first verb of the predicate has more of a grammaticalized meaning compared to other types of serial verb constructions. Following Anderson (2006), it is a "mono-clausal structure minimally consisting of a lexical verb element that contributes lexical content to construction, and an auxiliary verb element that contributes some grammatical or functional content to the construction"(Anderson 2006, p. 7). Auxiliary verb constructions are the primary means of expressing mood and modality in Uduk.

Auxiliary verbs come before the main verb of a clause, and they carry the finite inflectional marking of the construction. The lexical elements of the construction use non-finite verb forms.

An example of a typical auxiliary construction may be seen in example (786):

(786) *únī ŋàp̲-án ì gàm à dhàm*
3PL want:IPFV-3PL LNK find fish ACC.CL2

'They want to find honey.'

Auxiliary verbs can also occur with nominal O arguments. If there are any nominal O arguments, auxiliary verbs instead take a clausal complement with *kí*, as in example (787).

(787) *bǎsāyǎ ŋàp̱-ā́d ʼkwāzɨ́ kɨ́ ʼkósh wàʼsh kā*
NEG want:IPFV-ERG.3SG people COMP kill fish with.CL2
gògòrò ɨ́ ṯwā tānɨ́
harpoon LOC.CL1 first PHM

'he doesn't want people to fish with a harpoon first.'
(Note: Yabus Uduk)

Known auxiliary verbs may be seen in table 9.1, along with their uses.

Table 9.1: Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary Verb	Lexical source	Target use
mí	do	potential, obligation, necessity, permission; also light verb constructions
ŋáp̱	seek	volitive, commissive
ó	say	volitive, attemptive
múr	be ready	prospective; inceptive
yà	go, sg.	prospective
ī	go, pl.	prospective
c̱á'b	sit, sg.	persistive
dì	exist, sg.	persistive
'kó	exist, sit; pl.	persistive
mísh	see	knowledge of, ability to
mòl	not see, not know	lack of knowledge of, inability to

9.16.1 'Do' Constructions

The verb *mí* is by far the most common auxiliary verb in Uduk. Even in non-auxiliary constructions, *mí* can mean 'to happen, occur, cause, proceed, make', in addition to its basic use of 'to do'. As a noun, it can mean 'habit, way, action, procedure', amongst others.

Similarly, a wide variety of meanings may be also be formed with the auxiliary verb *mí*, 'to do', in particular with modalities with an irrealis connotation. It can refer to desire, necessity, potentiality, permission, and the future, amongst others.

Examples (788) through (790) show constructions which are non-actual. Example (788) and (789) are conditional constructions, and example (790) shows a hope (or thought) for rain.

(788) *bà mòn dɨ̌ṯ ʼbór-á ʼbōr gòm ʼkwānɨ́ wàḵkā́ ḵó'bā*
so rainy.season good:IPFV-STV REDUP for people if.CL2 maize
mí-n ì wàs mò tānɨ́
do.AUX:PFV-NAS LNK tassel MO PHM

'so the rainy season is very good for people if the maize ripens.'

(789) *gòm wǎ̰kkí mì-n-á'dī pūr kā cím ā 'dé?*
because if do.AUX:IPFV-ERG.3SG heat with.CL2 day CL2 one
tāní á'dī kí 'cēd mò kí jàhànè
PHM 3SG NARR break MO COMP quickly

'Because if he were to heat it for (only) one day, it would break very quickly.'

(790) *áhā t̰ōsh-á ká shō'k mì-'d ì hé'th*
1SG think:IPFV-1SG COMP.CL2 rain do.AUX:IPFV-3SG LNK rain
kā 'thámō
tomorrow

'I hope it rains tomorrow.'

Constructions with *mí* can also refer to potential situations, as in examples (791), (792), and (793).

(791) *á'dī mí-'d ì sús é gòm áyì tō mè'd à dhò̰p*
3SG do.AUX:PFV-3SG LNK lead 2SG for every thing like CL2 lion
áw̄ à rĭs tō-n tíyā kūn shwá-n ā
or CL2 many.PL thing-ASS some REL.PL eat:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1
nyòr
anger

'It could lead you to anything, like a lion or many other things that are dangerous.'

(792) *tō mì-n à é gàm īs ì k̰āl*
thing do.AUX:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 2SG find body.PART LNK carry
ì tāgì pā yĭsā
LNK until village NEG

'You won't be able to manage to carry that all the way to the village.'
(Beam and Cridland 1956)

(793) *é mí-n ì mí ì gàm mí-n tíyā mò wǎrī*
2SG do.AUX:PFV-2SG LNK do.AUX LNK find do-ASS other MO maybe
í má'dān
LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.MED

'Perhaps you end up finding something else there.'

Examples (794) through (796) all express an obligation or necessative use. These are also linked with non-actual modalities, however.

(794) *bà yǐsā mǐ-n-é è mí ’kósh-í ’bár*
so NEG do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-NAS-ERG.2SG LNK do.AUX kill-AD2 all
tíyā
others

‘So you shouldn’t kill them all.’

(795) *é mí-n ì p̲ár ā ’cí ē*
2SG do.AUX:PFV-2SG LNK watch ACC.CL2 child eye.PART

‘You should be watching after the child.’

(796) *áhā mì-ná ḉá’b-kú ē̋ gù’b*
1SG do.AUX:IPFV-1SG sit-ITV LOC.DUR:CL1 house

‘I must stay in the house.’

Note that *mí* can also be used to form a type of light verb construction, without necessarily any sort of irrealis connotation.

(797) *à shó’k mì-’d à wár*
CL2 rain do:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 lightning

‘It is thundering and lightning out. (lit: the rain does lightning)’

Example (798) shows a nominalization of do + marry. While it is possible to simply use *màsh* nominally, the speaker often would say *mí màsh*.

(798) *bà tō ā ’dán jìn dǐ-’d í*
so thing IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL.SG exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1
bwàmăn ’kwānímpā í mí màsh ’kwānímpā,
among Uduk LOC.CL1 do.AUX marriage Uduk

‘So this is a thing that happens among the Uduk people, in the marriage of the Uduk,’

9.16.2 Volitive Constructions

Volitive constructions are formed with the auxiliary verbs *ŋáp̲* ‘to seek’ and *ó* ‘to say’. They refer to the speaker’s desire or inclination for something, and in the case of *ó*, it can also be an attempt to do something. The verb *ŋáp̲* frequently occurs with gerund constructions which deal with purpose.

(799) *cōm ŋàp̱-á'd ì wàl á'dī gò*
his.father want.AUX:IPFV-3SG LNK discuss 3SG word.PART

'His father wants to talk to him.'

(800) *gò lòlòp̱ yánsañ tāní ŋàp̱-kà?* *ádɨ̄ kɨ́ ú*
story DEM.PROX PHM want.AUX:IPFV-ERG.1SG 3SG COMP make
kɨ́ 'bōrɨ́ tāní
COMP well PHM

'This story I wanted it to be made well.' (Note: Yabus Uduk)

In some instances, *ŋáp̱* can also refer to permission or necessity.

(801) *gòm wàzɨ́ mǐ nyòr gòm wʉ̀dɨ́ yǐsā ŋàp̱ ì ó*
for person do:IPFV:AD2 anger for water NEG want:IPFV LNK say
kɨ́ cēsh bɨ̌'sh
COMP catch hook

'For the man was angry, because the water is not allowed to be fished in.' (Note: Yabus Uduk)

Using *ó* (without a partargument) to mean 'want' or 'try' appears to be a slightly older construction, and *ŋáp̱* is potentially replacing it. (802) and (803) are two examples of this type of use.

(802) *à cí kí shwá ā nyòr mò ḿmò ó kí ŋáp̱*
CL2 creature NARR eat ERG.CL1 anger MO GER say COMP seek
ā shím 'kwānúmpā mò
ACC.CL2 scent people MO

'and he gets angry, trying to sniff out the people.'

(803) *Dŭnkúl gŭ-n ā nàŋà ɨ́ Dŭnkúl*
Dunkul bring.PL:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 crocodile REF Dunkul
mʉ̀r à nàŋà ó bʉ̀z mʉ̀
will.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1 crocodile say catch MO

'Dunkul was followed by the crocodile and the crocodile wanted to catch Dunkul.'

9.16.3 Persistive Constructions

Persistive constructions are formed with the auxiliary verbs *ɕá'b*, 'to sit', *dì* 'to exist (somewhere)', and *'kó* 'to exist (somewhere), pl.' They give the idea of activity persistence, or the continuation of an activity.

(804) *í* *má'dān* *tān* *á'dī* *kí* *ɕá* *à* *pó* *bwày*
LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM 3SG NARR sit.SG LNK top way
à *nǒs* *yún* *í* *mún*
ASS.CL2 pot DEM.ANPH LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH

'From there it keeps on dripping into that pot there.'

(805) *á'dī* *tēn* *kí* *yà* *ítēní,* *jùs* *í* *múm* *tēní,* *á'dī*
3SG PHM NARR go PHM hole LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH PHM 3SG
kí *yà* *dì* *kā* *jìmís* *káhē* *ɕá* *à* *'kósh*
NARR go exist.SG with.CL2 upright DEM.ADV.PROX2 sit LNK kill
yáp
porcupine

'When he went to the hole, he went and stood upright like this and kept on beating the porcupine.'

(806) *dhàlì* *bàbă-m* *bămn* *tāní* *á'dī* *kí* *sús-ámn* *ḿmò* *ɕá*
and father-ASS POSS.1PE PHM 3SG NARR lead-1PE GER sit.SG
à *'kósh* *wà'c* *á* *bìl*
LNK kill fish LOC.CL2 pool

'Our father then he took us to fish in a pool of still water.'

(807) *ká* *nèth* *ɕā'b-ā'd* *ì* *lŏl* *ā*
COMP:CL2 honey badger stay.SG:PFV-3SG LNK collect ACC.CL2
dhàm *mò* *tāní*
honey MO PHM

'The honey badger was continuing to collect honey,'

(808) *á'dī* *dĭ* *mò* *īsh* *ē*
3SG exist.SG:IPFV MO sleep eye.PART

'He is (still) sleeping.'

(809) *áhā dǐ-ná à jə̱́p cwá*
1SG exist.SG:IPFV-1SG LNK cut tree

'I am still cutting down trees.'

9.16.4 Abilitive Constructions

The verb *mísh* 'to see' is used in a number of constructions dealing with the idea of being able to do something, or knowing (how to do) something.

(810) *é mùr-ún ì mísh ʼbā shōʼk bŭ̱́k=á?*
2SG will:IPFV-2SG LNK see leg move=Q

'Can you move your leg?'

(811) *é mìsh-í gùʼb nyáŋ=á?*
2SG see:IPFV-AD2 house build=Q

'Do you know how to build a house?'

(812) *áʼdī kí mísh tə̱́ō? mò kí ʼbōrʼbōr dhàlì kí*
3SG NARR see straighten MO COMP good.ADV and COMP
yàə̱́pyàə̱́p
fast.ADV

'it is able to become straightened very well and very fast.'

There is also a lexicalized negative form of *mísh*, *mòl*.

(813) *jè ḿmò yà-n-ǎʼdī ŋə̱́áp áʼdī tāní súk*
elephant GER go.SG-NAS-ERG.3SG seek 3SG PHM pierce:IPFV
ā tō shōʼk áʼdī kí mòl yà mò
ERG.CL1 thing foot 3SG NARR be.unable go.SG MO

'When the elephant went to find him, things pinned his (the elephant's) feet down and he couldn't move.'

9.16.5 Prospective Constructions

Uduk does not have grammaticalized tense, but it does have ways to refer to the future through prospective constructions. The most common way is with

múr, 'be ready', used for inceptive or prospective situations, as well as *yà* and *ī* 'to go', used primarily when actual movement is involved. The irrealis use of *mí* also can refer to potential future situations.

(814) *ánā mùr-à sī tō mòndǐt̲*
1PI will.AUX:IPFV-1PI plant LNK thing

'We're going to plant the seeds in the rainy season.'

(815) *áhā mùr-á yà bwǎshō mòn 'thámō*
1SG will.AUX:IPFV-1SG go bush morning

'I'm going to the bush in the morning.'

(816) *áā mùr-á pū'd-kú 'kō'dā címí sū?*
1SG will.AUX:IPFV-1SG arrive-ITV after Monday

'I'll arrive after Monday.'

(817) *é mùr-ún ì 'tā ç̣ā'b á 'césh*
2SG will.AUX:IPFV-2SG LNK CF.AUX sit LOC.CL2 ground

'You were going to sit down.'

(818) *ánā mì-nà ç̣ōr ì tāgà shār sábà*
1PI do.AUX:IPFV-1PI wait LNK until July

'We will wait until July.'

Múr also can be used to mean 'become' in some instances.

(819) *à wàsá mùr-í yì'dé mò*
CL2 ice will.AUX:IPFV-AD2 water MO

'The ice will become water.'

Yà and *ī* may be used in some instances to give a prospective idea.

(820) *á'dī kí bǎth 'té mún bè tāgì á'dī kí yà*
3SG NARR follow just DEM.LOC.MED BE until 3SG NARR go.SG
pū'd mò 'dīshé-ŋ gǎnā mò í yàn cwá tāntānī
arrive MO close-ASS real MO LOC.CL1 near tree PHM

'he follows (it) to that place, until it reaches near to the precise place next to the tree then.'

In other instances, however, they are more serial verb like.

(821) *wàthí gì tá ṯé-n dhàm tāntāní mí*
person GEN.REL COP:IPFV hunger-ASS honey PHM do.AUX:PFV
yà dì 'té yán ārí wòr
go.SG stay.SG just near DIM.SG.CL1 stream

'A person who is hungry for honey goes and stays near a small stream.'

There is also a special form of the verb used for the Prospective. It is formed by a type of reduplication, a finite form of the verb with agreement marking and AD markers combined with a reduplicated form of the verb root. The construction is structurally similar to auxiliary verb constructions.

(822) *á'dī 'kwār-á'd ì 'kwár ā wǎrkā*
3SG write:IPFV-3SG LNK REDUP ACC.CL2 book

'He is going to write a book.'

(823) *áhā wà'd-í-ná à wá'd mò*
1SG hunt:IPFV-AD2-1SG LNK REDUP MO

'I am going to hunt.'

9.16.6 Counterfactual Constructions

Counterfactual constructions refer to situations in which there is an expectation for something to happen but it does not. They are formed with the the verb *'tā* followed by the complementizer *kí* and a non-finite form of the verb. They commonly occur with conditional constructions or belief statements.

(824) *Ḵū'bá mì-n à é 'tā kí c̱ī-kú bè*
Kuba do.AUX:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 2SG CF.AUX COMP give-ITV EMPH

'You should have given Ḵu'ba some.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(825) *áhā ṯōsh-á ká shō'k mùr-í 'tā*
1SG think:IPFV-1SG COMP.CL2 rain will.AUX:IPFV-AD2 CF.AUX
kí yéth yĭsā gòm mís dĭ-'d kí kwánykwány
COMP rain NEG for sky exist.SG:IPFV-3SG COMP clear

'I didn't think it was going to rain because the sky was clear (but it did).'

(826) *áhā ṯōsh-á kí á'dī mǐ-'d ì 'tā*
1SG think:IPFV-1SG COMP 3SG do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-3SG LNK CF.AUX
kí pṯú'd mò shwànéʔ
COMP arrive mo today

'I thought that he would have arrived today (but he didn't).'

(827) *áhā mì-ná à 'tā kí shwá mà wàk̲kí áhā 'kōsh*
1SG will:IPFV-1SG LNK CF.AUX COMP eat food if.CL1 1SG hit:IPFV
ā ṯéʔ
ERG.CL1 hunger

'I would eat if I was hungry.'

(828) *à Kóstī yà-'d mò lò'b à kúràʔ kí áhā*
CL2 Kosti go.SG:PFV-3SG MO play ACC.CL2 ball COMP 1SG
ŋàp̲-á à 'tā kí gàm á'dī
want:IPFV-1SG LNK CF.AUX COMP meet 3SG

'I planned to meet Kosti but he went to play football.'

9.17 Interrogative Constructions

Interrogative constructions may be divided into three main types, polar (yes-no) questions, alternative questions, and content questions. Additionally, subtypes of polar questions exist through modal particles, with a variety of shades of meaning.

9.17.1 Polar Questions

Polar questions are used to elicit a response on whether a proposition is true or not. They differ minimally from declaratives, structurally, and constituent order is not affected by interrogative constructions. They usually require a reply with yes or no, followed by an additional clause.

A list of yes-no words is found in table 9.2.

Table 9.2: Yes-no words

nyèè	Yes
nyǎē, nyěē	Yes, more emphatic
yǐsā, yǐsâ	No
yǐsāyà	No, more emphatic

Polar constructions may be formed either by one of two distinct question particles, or by a rise in prosodic pitch. The two particles phonologically cliticize to the final word in the phrase. These are, in order of frequency:

1. Question particle *á*
2. Question particle *í*
3. Raised prosodic pitch

The most frequent way of constructing polar interrogative constructions is with *á*. Interrogative constructions with *á* are neutral constructions, non-biased towards an answer of yes or no.

(829) *é mùr-í yà shūntān=á?*
2SG will:IPFV-AD2 go.SG now=Q

'Are you leaving now?'

(830) *wàk̲kí wàthí 'kósh-ó'd ā shēt̲, 'kúp̲ tō*
if person kill:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 antelope, head thing
mí-nù mí ì k̲ál bwày cōm=á?
do.AUX:PFV-IMPRS do.AUX LNK carry to his.father=Q

'If a person kills an antelope, is the head carried to the father's home?'

(831) *ēmbŭl dĭ-'d=á?*
place exist.SG:IPFV-3SG=Q

'Is there space? (e.g. in a car)'

(832) *dì wà kán=á?*
exist.SG be.like:PFV DEM.ADV.PROX=Q

'Is that so?'

(833) *é mùr-ún ì mísh 'bā shō'k bŭk̲=á?*
2SG will:IPFV-2SG LNK know leg move=Q

'Can you move your leg?'

(834) *é mìsh-í gù'b nyáŋ=á?*
2SG know:IPFV-AD2 house build=Q

'Do you know how to build a house?'

It is also possible to make interrogative constructions with *=í*. The distinction between *=á* and *=í* is somewhat elusive, but appears to relate to aspect in some way, as well as the Individuative and Collective markers mentioned earlier. When *=í* is used to form questions, it gives a reading of perfectivity, or entirety of the event. If it is a question of amounts, *=í* will refer to the entire amount. Questions with *=á* give a more neutral reading, where the event is not necessarily finished, or that there may be more items still left. The speaker may also continue to ask more people.

(835) *à* *gălám* *dĭ-'d=í?*
CL2 pen exist.SG:IPFV-3SG=QI

'Is there a pen?'

(836) *é* *ḵó-n* *ā* *dhòp̲=í?*
2SG fear:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 lion=QI

'Are you afraid of the lion?'

It is also possible to use only a rise in prosodic pitch to show an interrogative construction. This is a relatively infrequent means of forming questions, however.

(837) *é* *ŋàp̲-án* *ā* *ālbŭn?*
2SG want:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 coffee

'Would you like coffee?'

9.17.2 Alternative Questions

Alternative questions are those in which the listener is given a choice between options, or to specifically question an individual entity. They are formed with the clitic *=kā?* marked on the entity in question. They do not use a rising intonation.

(838) *é* *ŋàp̲-án* *ā* *ālbŭn=kā?* *wàlà* *é* *ŋàp̲-án*
2SG want:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 coffee=AQ or 2SG want:IPFV-2SG
ā *cháyà??*
ACC.CL2 tea

'Would you like coffee or tea?'

(839) *à Yǎsīr=kā p̲ú'd-kí-'d?*
CL2 Yasir=*aq* arrive:IPFV-AD1-3SG

'Has Yasir arrived (or not)?'

9.17.3 Content Questions

Content questions are interrogative constructions which ask for information through question words. They mostly do not differ from regular intransitive or transitive constructions in any clear formally defined way. A list of interrogative words and phrases used to form content questions in Uduk is found in table 9.3.

Table 9.3: Interrogatives

Uduk	English
à tá	What, why
à jǎ	Which, who, sg.
ījǎ	Which, who, pl.
jànáá	Which one
mànáá	Why
mánáá	Where, with verbs
mánè	Where, without verbs
wàkátá	How
ēkátá	How much, how many
(kā)kāsjànáá	When

Note that many additional constructions combining question words with other lexemes may be used to give a particular meaning. *Tá* more often means 'what', but in combination with the demonstrative adverbial *kán*, it rather gives an interpretation of why. Similarly, *gòmà tá*, 'for what', is also used to give the meaning of why. These variations are tendencies rather than absolutes, however, and the basic meaning of *tá*, while favoring the 'what' interpretation, is nonetheless ambiguous. Information questions may occur with intransitive as well as transitive constructions, in both A-Voice and O-Voice.

(840) *à tá mì-yí'd?*
CL2 what do:IPFV-AD2-3SG

'What happened?'

(841) *é shwā-n ā tá?*
2SG eat:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 what

'What are you eating?'

(842) *à tá shún-ɛ́?*
CL2 what cook:IPFV-ERG.2SG

'What are you cooking?'

(843) *à tá k̲úy-í mò kí k̲ūy kán?*
CL2 what waft:IPFV-AD2 MO COMP REDUP DEM.ADV.PROX

'What smells so good?' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(844) *é k̲ál tō gòmà tá?*
2SG take:PFV thing for.CL2 what

'Why did you take it?'

(845) *jì mà jă̄ ā c̲án?*
DEF.GEN.SG GEN.CL2 which IDENT DEM.VB.MED

'Whose is this?'

(846) *é yùk̲-ù ká jă̄?*
2SG call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP which

'What is your name (lit: Which are you called)?'

(847) *jànáá ŋàp̲ à é?*
which.one want:IPFV ERG.CL1 2SG

'Which one do you want?'

(848) *à tīn tá ō-n ā úm gò*
CL2 reason what say:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 2PL word.PART
kán?
DEM.ADV.PROX

'Why are you guys saying that?'

(849) *mànáá 'tɛ̄-n-é bwà dĭ kí*
why not.want:IPFV-NAS-ERG.2SG stomach.PART exist.SG:IPFV COMP
yà?
go.SG

'Why don't you want to go?'

The constructions *wàkátá* and *ēkátá* are predicative constructions formed from the verb *wá*, 'to be like', with the nominal complement *ká tá* 'what'.

(850) é wàkátá?

é *wà* *ká* *tá?*
2SG be.like:IPFV COMP.CL2 what

'How are you?'

(851) *jàmàs pí'dī* *wàkátá?*
color POSS.3SG how

'What color is it?' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(852) *yól pí'dī* *wàkátá?*
cost POSS.3SG how

'What does it cost?' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(853) *wǎ̱kká Kóstī dìkà* *kí* *gàm* *shwānéʔ,* *á'dī*
if.CL2 Kosti exist.SG:PFV-ERG.1SG COMP meet today 3SG
mùr-ú'd *ì* *mí* *ká* *tá* *mòʔ*
will.AUX:IPFV-3SG LNK do COMP.CL2 what MO

'If I don't meet Kosti today, what will he do?'

(854) *ūp̱* *'kó-n* *ēkátá* *kūn* *í-yí-n*
women exist.PL:PFV-3PL how many REL.PL go.PL:IPFV-AD2-3PL
àràbǐyāʔ
car

'How many women are coming in the car?'

Questions involving general time are formed with the compound *kāsjàná*, sometimes with *kā* preceding *kāsjàná*.

(855) *é* *mùr-ún* *ì* *yà* *kāsjàná?*
2SG will.AUX:IPFV-2SG LNK go.SG when

'When are you going?'

(856) *à ya-ḿ pīní dhŏth-ù kā kāsjàná?*
CL̄ son-ASS POSS.2SG bear:PFV-IMPRS with.CL2 when

'When was your son born?'

Interrogative constructions involving questioning of location may be divided into two types, those which occur with a fully inflected verb and those in which the locative question word forms a type of copular construction. Predicative constructions use a verbal phrase of some kind combined with the word *máná*, 'where', potentially preceded by a preposition to mark location or direction.

(857) *únī mí-n ì ī máná?*
3PL do.AUX:PFV-3PL LNK go.PL where

'Where are they going?'

(858) *é gǎm tō yán 'péní máná?*
2SG find:IPFV thing DEM.PROX from.CL1 where

'Where did you get it from?'

(859) *à Dǎsī gǎm-í sī í máná?*
CL2 Dasi find:IPFV-AD2 stick LOC.CL1 where

'Where did Dasi find the stick?' (Uduk Primer 1965)

Interrogative constructions questioning a static location generally use the word *mánè*, often reduplicated. This is used to ask the location of someone or something, comparable to the predicative *dì í máná* 'be located in where'.

(860) *mánè à pōmé mánè?*
where CL2 horn where

'Where is the horn?' (Uduk Primer 1965)

(861) *à sŭ́rā yún t̲ōr-kí-n-ĕ́ áā mánè?*
CL2 picture DEM.ANPH show:IPFV-AD1-NAS-ERG.2SG 1SG where

'Where are those pictures you told me about?'

9.17.4 Modal Questions

It is also possible to use modal particles to form interrogative constructions, in particular with *'tá*, *sà?*, and *'té*. These may occur with both content questions as well as polar questions.

'Tá is used for more emphatic questions, strengthening the idea of the question. It can be used for surprised questions, or those in which the speaker expects something else.

(862) *é ḵó-n ā dhòp̱ 'tá?*
2SG fear:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 lion QTA

'Aren't you afraid of the lion?'

(863) *Dăsī kí dŏṯ cóm kí: à năwāl pīní*
Dasi NARR ask his.father COMP CL2 adze POSS.2SG
dǐ-'d í gù'b pā bănà 'tá?
exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 house at POSS.1PI QTA

'Dasi asked his father, 'Is your adze in our hut?' '
(Uduk Primer 1965)

(864) *cōm kí ó á'dī kí: Yĭsāà. À năwāl p̱īy-í'd í*
his father COMP say 3SG COMP: No. CL2 adze not.exist:PFV-3SG
gù'b mò bè
LOC.CL1 house MO

'His father told him, 'No, the adze is not in the hut.' '
(Uduk Primer 1965)

'Té is also used for emphatic questions.

(865) *úm í-n mò 'té?*
2PL go.PL:IPFV-2PL MO QTE

'Oh, are you leaving?'

Sà? could be translated as 'I wonder', and has two varieties. With the low tone, it makes a question into a 'wondering' type of statement, such as in example (866).

(866) *mánè á'dī sà?*
where 3SG SA

'(I wonder) where he is...'

By changing the tone, it is possible to make it into an actual question, however.

(867) *mánè á'dī sǎ??*
where 3SG SA

'(I wonder) where he is...?'

(868) *ī-jǎ ī-n mò sǎ??*
PL-who go.PL:PFV-3PL MO SA

'(I wonder) who (pl) has gone?'

(869) *à tīn tá ō-n ā úm kí ī pā mò sǎ??*
CL2 reason what say:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 2PL COMP go.PL home MO SA

'Why did you say you were going home?' (Uduk Primer 1965)

9.18 Negative Constructions

There are a number of ways to express negation in Uduk. Standard negation of a simple clause is done through the word *yǐsā*, 'no' combined with the sentence-final negating clitic *=à*. If the clitic occurs after a word ending in *u*, it is usually pronounced as *wà*, and after other vowels, it is pronounced as *yà*.

(870) *à wǎrkā? yǐsā tā-n ā rìs=à*
CL2 book NEG COP-3PL ACC.CL2 many=NEG

'There are not many books (lit: The books are not many).'

Yǐsā is used both as a single word for no as well as an adverbial negator; without *=à*, *yǐsā* gives a more focused type of reading; similarly, *=à* without *yǐsā* gives a more focused reading. This occurs only rarely, however.

For intransitive clauses and A-Voice transitive clauses, *yǐsā* may be placed either before the verb, at the end of the clause, or both. *Yǐsā* may combine with

=à from either or both of the negation places in which *yǐsā* occurs. It is thus possible to have three negating morphemes in a clause: A *yǐsā* VOX *yǐsā yà*. Note that *yǐsā yà* is frequently pronounced as *yǐsà*; the segmental portion of *yà* disappears, leaving behind the tone on *yǐsā*.

The following combinations are possible:

- TOP V (A) O à
- TOP yǐsā V (A) O
- TOP yǐsā V (A) O à
- TOP V (A) O yǐsā
- TOP V (A) O yǐsā yà
- TOP yǐsā V (A) O yǐsā yà

Negative constructions are structured slightly differently from basic declarative constructions. Although Perfective and Imperfective tonal forms are possible on the verb root, it is not possible for a negated verb to occur with *mò*. Thus, aspectual distinctions are more limited compared to declaratives. It is also much more frequent to omit O arguments in negated sentences.

Verbal negation is also possible via the verb *dì* (plural: *'kó*), 'to be located', along with the complementizer *kí* and the verb root. With verbal negation constructions, a specific verb is negated.

There are also individual lexemes in Uduk which when translated to English would have a negative meaning, such as *'tē*, 'to not want', *mòl*, 'to not know' *dàr* 'not have', and *p̲īy*, 'to not exist'. Despite their translations, these function as normal declarative constructions in Uduk and do not fall under the scope of negation.

9.18.1 Standard Negation

Yǐsā combined with the negation particle *=à* can be characterized as the basic means for negating declarative verbal main phrases. Following Miestamo (2007), Payne (1985), this can be considered 'standard' negation.

Examples 871 through 874 all show a type of negation in which the scope is broad, encompassing the entire clause rather than a specific element of the construction.

(871) *(mì)-n-é* *è* *sūk̲* *kā* *mè* *tāní,* *yǐsà*
(do:IPFV)-NAS-ERG.2SG LNK stab with spear PHM NEG
mì-n *mà* *mè* *mìŋ kámú=yà*
do.AUX:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 spear anything=NEG

'If you try to stab (the honey badger) with a spear, the spear won't do anything to it.'

(872) *dhàlì yĕ'd ítāní ó-n-ámm kí wú-'d*
and monitor.lizard PHM say:PFV-NAS-ERG.1PE COMP die:PFV-3SG
mò tāní dhàlì ká yĕ'd yĭsā wú-k-ú'd=à
MO PHM and COMP.CL2 monitor.lizard NEG die:PFV-AD1-3SG=NEG

'and the monitor lizard we thought that it was dead, but the monitor lizard had not died.'

(873) *Yăsīr yĭsā pú'd-kú-'d=à*
Yasir NEG arrive:IPFV-AD1-3SG=NEG

'Yasir has not arrived.'

(874) *áā yĭsā bùth à yì'dé=yà*
1SG NEG grip:PFV ERG.CL1 water=NEG

'I'm not thirsty.'

It is also possible to negate a proposition only with the sentence-final particle. Examples of negation solely with the negation particle are limited, and the difference between this and negated clauses with *yĭsā* remains elusive.

(875) *áā 'kā-ná ḳúthār=à*
1SG eat:IPFV-1SG pig=NEG

'I'm not eating pig; I don't eat pig.'

(876) *ámm kí gàm à yĕ'd=à*
1PE NARR get ACC.CL2 monitor.lizard=NEG

'We didn't get the monitor lizard.'

It is also possible to use three morphemes to mark negation in Uduk, preverbal *yĭsā* combined with a clause final *yĭsā* and the negation particle *=à*. This is similar to the basic negation construction, but bears more of an emphatic meaning. Note that the negation particle *=à* is frequently ellided in fast speech, leaving its tone behind on *yĭsā* to make *yĭsâ*.

(877) *'Kwāní yĭsâ bă'th bŭrè? yĭsâ*
people NEG follow:PFV bee-eater NEG

'People do not follow the bee-eater.'

(878) *dhàlì únī yǐsā́ kí gàdhìr ḿmò bùk̲ īs bǔnī*
and 3PL NEG NARR manage GER extract body.PART POSS.3PL
yǐsā́
NEG

'and they could not manage to extract themselves.'

(879) *'kwāní yǐsā́ tā gì tōnt̲é? jìn shwā-n-úní*
people NEG COP:PFV PP.CL1 food REL.SG eat:IPFV-NAS-ERG.3PL
yǐsā́
NEG

'People didn't have food to eat.'

(880) *dhàlì tōnt̲é? yǐsā́ dì-'d yǐsā́=yà dhàlì ám̄ kí ī*
and food NEG exist.SG:PFV-3SG NEG=NEG and 1PE NARR go.PL
mò ç̲wǎny ā sē'd
MO dig ACC.CL2 wild.potato

'And there was no food so we then went to dig up wild potatoes.'

9.18.2 Focused Negation

It is also possible to use *yǐsā* without the negation particle =*à*. These generally occur in preverbal position, giving a more specific scope, limited to an explicitly asserted portion of the construction. There are two parts to the construction, the asserted and the presupposed, and the presupposed portion of the construction lies outside the scope of the negation.

Thus, in example (881), the speaker asserts that the addressee is catching something, but it is not the intended object which is grasped.

(881) *á'dī kí ó kí: é yǐsā́ bùth à tíyā, é*
3SG NARR say COMP 2SG NEG grab:PFV ACC.CL2 some, 2SG
bǔth-ún ā bìr cwá
grab:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 root tree

'(and) he said (that), 'You are not catching me (lit: something), you are catching the root of the tree.' '

Similarly, example (882) shows that it is **all** of them that you should not kill. It is possible to kill a portion of them, but not all[5].

[5]The combination of *'bár* and *tíyā* give the meaning of all in the example.

(882) *bà yǐsā mǐ-n-é-è mí ʼkósh-í ʼbár*
so NEG do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-NAS-ERG.2SG-LNK do kill-AD2 complete
tíyā
some

'So you shouldn't kill them all.'

Negated stative verb constructions allow *yǐsā* to occur after the stative verb rather than before while keeping a narrow-scope negation interpretation. In example (883), Arra might be far, but it is not as far as Paulos.

(883) *Árrā sīʼd-á sīʼd yǐsà mèʼd Páwlòs*
Arra far-STV REDUP NEG as Paulos

'Arra is not as far as Paulos.'

Final position *yǐsā* is more open in its scope interpretation. In example (884), it is asserted that there is no corn during the rainy season, but it might exist during other times of the year. This is a narrow-scope interpretation similar to the previous examples.

(884) *mèʼd yín dǐ-n mā shōʼk kí héʼth tānī à*
during exist.SG:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 rain COMP fall:PFV PHM CL2
k̲óʼbā dǐ-ʼd yǐsà
corn exist.SG:IPFV-3SG NEG

'During the rainy season, there's no corn.'

In example (885), it is asserted that the man who spoke was not inside. Part of the presupposition is true, that the man did speak. However, it is not the case that the man is necessarily speaking from another location just because he was not inside. It comes from a story in which 'the unknown man' beats someone for killing all the porcupines in a den, something that you are not supposed to do. If you kill all the porcupines, then the unknown man will come and beat you.

(885) *dhàlì wàthí yán wál-áʼd ā t̲ōr í cīné*
and man DEM.PROX talk:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 talk LOC.CL1 inside
yǐsā
NEG

'And this man (who) spoke was not inside.'

In contrast, example (886) comes from a text in which the storyteller was fishing and hunting with his father and brothers. His father had caught a monitor

lizard, and everyone had thought that the monitor lizard had been successfully killed. However, the monitor lizard was just injured, and had not actually died. It jumps down from the father and runs off. The speaker and his brothers did successfully catch fish, so there is the possibility of interpreting this with narrow scope, e.g. "We didn't catch the monitor lizard (but we did catch something else)". Or, conversely, the construction could be interpreted as a more general verbal negator without a contrastive meaning.

(886) *ámn̄ kí gàm à yě'd yĭsā*
1PE NARR get ACC.CL2 monitor.lizard NEG

'We didn't get the monitor lizard.'

9.18.3 Negation with *dì kí*

In addition to constructions formed with *yĭsā*, it is also possible to negate propositions with the construction *dì* (plural: *'kó*), 'to be located', with the complementizer *kí* and a non-finite form of the verb.

Negation constructions with *dì kí* focus on the negation of an individual event, using a nominalized form of the verb as the complement of the construction. These constructions cannot take finite or clausal complements, or express overt arguments.

(887) *à tá dĭ-n ā é kí yà-yú??*
CL2 what exist.SG:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 2SG COMP go.SG-VENT

'Why didn't you come?' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(888) *bà únī tāní mì-n à ánā shācā kí únī*
so 3PL PHM do.AUX:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 1PI encourage COMP 3PL
mí-n ì 'kó kí màsh kī yìl à
do.AUX-3PL LNK stay.PL COMP marry with.CL1 year ASS.CL2
gwă'dgà
SMALL

'So they are encouraged by us not to marry at an early age.'

(889) *dhàlì wàk̲kí á'dī dǐ-n mā dhàm kí úr tāní é*
and if 3SG stay:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 bee COMP chase PHM 2SG
kí mŭr ì gàm tō jìn dǐ-'d
NARR will.AUX:IPFV:AD2 LNK find thing REL exist.SG:IPFV-3SG
kī shē? mè'd à súm
with tooth.PART like CL2 python

'But if it is not being chased by a bee then you will get something that is as different as a python.'

9.19 Complex Predicate Constructions

Complex predicate constructions are verbal predicates in which two or more grammatical elements (such as morphemes or words) act as a single semantic predicate (Alsina et al. 1997). The semantic meaning of the verb is not contained solely in the verb root, but rather distributed across multiple words in a predicate. This section here gives only a brief overview of these constructions; for a more detailed description, see Killian 2015.

Uduk makes frequent use of *Partarguments*, a term coined here to refer to the satellites of a complex predicate construction. Partarguments are typically body parts incorporated into the verbal predicate which changes the basic meaning of the verb, or classifies the argument of the verb.

As an example, the verb *'kósh* normally means 'to hit, kill'. However, the verbal phrase *'kósh ē*, literally 'to hit eye', means to mix liquids together. In this situation, *ē* classifies the type of object used.

(890) *áhā 'kōsh-á ā àlbŭm ē únī kā kó*
I hit:IPFV-1SG ACC.CL2 coffee eye.PART 3PL with.CL2 milk

'I'm mixing the coffee with the milk.'

This partargument is also commonly used to create constructions dealing with vision or sight. The verb *wà* on its own means 'to be like'. When the partargument *ē* is added to the construction, it means 'look like'.

However, although there is a general level of predictability with partargument constructions, specific semantic shifts are unpredictable. When the partargument *ē* combines with the verb *'cē'd*, 'to break', *'cē'd ē* takes on a new meaning of 'to be sleepy'. When *ē* combines with the verb *mú'th*, 'to shut, close', *mú'th ē* takes on a new meaning of 'to deceive, trick'.

Structurally, partarguments occur both as (dummy) arguments of a construction as well as external satellites. When functioning in argument roles, partarguments receive case marking and in limited instances may also have modifiers. Voice alternations are also possible to some extent for transitive constructions,

with some pragmatic limitations. Voice alternations can also sometimes change the meaning of a construction. A-Voice *'kósh 'kúp*, 'hit head (obj.)' means to wash one's head or hair, whereas O-Voice *'kósh ā 'kúp* 'hit head (sbj.)' means to be finished.

It is also possible to get multiple partarguments in a construction. In example (891), *īs* 'body' is the syntactic A, whereas *ē* 'eye' is a satellite.

(891) *wàthí wù-n à īs ē*
man die:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 body.PART eye.PART

'The man is very tired.' (lit: The body dies the man eye)

Further examples may be seen below.

(892) *wàthí? pé-n ā 'twā?*
man pass:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 mouth.PART

'The man is passing someone (e.g. in a race)'.
pē 'twā? (pass + mouth): To pass someone

(893) *á'dī kí 'cē'd cwá bwà mè'd=í dòŋgòn*
3SG NARR break wood stomach.PART hand=COLL four

'He broke the wood into four pieces.'
'cē'd bwà (break + stomach): To break into pieces

(894) *á'dī kí pār 'kúp mò bèsénē?*
3SG NARR see head.PART MO BESENE

'He evens (them) out.'
pār 'kúp (see + head): To even out

(895) *únī hā́ gò ē mò ì rìc à gàrǐs*
3PL agree:IPFV word.PART eye.PART MO LNK grind ACC.CL2 okra

'They agreed to grind the okra.'
há gò ē (agree + message + eye): To verbally consent

(896) *á'dī 'kāp̲-á'd ā bìthúīk̲ 'bān*
3SG peel:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 watermelon temple.PART

'He removed the skin from the watermelon.'
'káp̲ 'bān (peel + temple): To remove skin of fruit or vegetable

Chapter 10

Clause Linking and Combining

10.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of some of the means in which single clauses may be combined into a larger unit or more complex constructions. It is separated out into five sections: complement clauses, relative clauses, subordinate clauses, clause chaining, and coordinate clauses. It ends with a brief mention of some modal particles which act at the sentence level.

10.2 Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a clause which functions as an argument of a verb in place of a noun phrase. These clauses are introduced by the complementizer *kí*, a polysemous marker used for a variety of complement constructions. Predicative complements occur primarily in the O slot of a construction, but the grammatical similarity between nominal arguments and predicative arguments is only partial. Complement clauses are not marked as O arguments, nor is derivational morphology required to add a nominal object argument to the sentence. If a complement clause occurs with another O argument of the verb, it occurs as the second complement.

Verbs which may take predicative complement clauses include verbs of communication, perception-cognition, emotion, manipulation, and modal. Communicative complements frequently occur with the partargument *gò*, one of the primary meaning derivations having to do with spoken communication. Most verbs which can take predicative complements also take non-finite or nominal complements as well.

(897) *dhàlà lìs kí dǒt̲ únī kí: à tá 'thá'k úm mànyà*
and.CL2 falcon NARR ask 3PL COMP CL2 what spit:IPFV 2PL saliva
kánnín
DEM.ADV.PROX

'And the falcon asked them 'Why are you spitting saliva like that?' '

(898) *únī kí thō'k gò kí: ám̄ 'thá'k-á mànyà*
3PL NARR respond word.PART COMP 1PE spit:IPFV-1PE saliva
gì yìŋ gwǎt̲ē-m bǎm̄ tí
REL.GI liquid headpad-ASS POSS.1PE QUOT

'They responded, 'We are spitting saliva (coming from) the water of our headpads.' '

(899) *wàthí 'báp-í ánā īs kí ī-nà mò*
man nag:IPFV-AD2 1PI body.PART COMP go.PL-1PI MO

'The man is calling for us to go.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(900) *ī-Mísā ǒ kūm kí: tá'dā, mánè 'kwā yì'dé*
AP-Misa say:IPFV their.mother COMP mother, where gourd water
mánè?
where

'Misa and the others asked their mother, 'Mother, where is the water gourd?' ' (Uduk Primer 1965)

(901) *kūm kí ó á'dī kí: 'kwā yì'dé ŋá-yí-kā*
their.other NARR say 3SG COMP gourd water forget:PFV-AD2-ERG.1SG
mò í pā
MO LOC.CL1 home

'His mother told him, 'I forgot the water gourd back home.' '
(Uduk Primer 1965)

(902) *áhā t̲ūc-á ā 'cí kí yà-kú?*
1SG make:IPFV-1SG ACC.CL2 child COMP go.SG-ITV

'I made the child leave.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(903) *dhàl-kú kí yà 'dīsh jìs īs gòm é mí-n*
leave-ITV COMP go near hole body.PART for 2SG do.AUX:PFV-2SG
ì bǐt̪ í jìs
LNK fall LOC.CL1 hole

'Don't go near the hole lest you fall.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(904) *áhā t̪ōsh-á ká shō'k mì-'d ì hé'th*
1SG think:IPFV-1SG COMP.CL2 rain do.AUX:IPFV-3SG LNK rain
kā 'thámō
tomorrow

'I hope it rains tomorrow.'

(905) *áhā mìsh-á kí: á'dī yà-yá-'d*
1SG know:IPFV-1SG COMP 3SG go.SG:PFV-AD2-3SG

'I know he is coming.'

It is also possible to extract arguments from the complement clause, bringing them to the topic position. This is typically done to prevent a verb-initial construction. The agreement marking marked on the verb in the complement clause remains, but the noun is not repeated.

(906) *Bărgò únī kā Márgò ō-nù kí ās-án*
Bargwo 3PL with.CL2 Margo say:IPFV-IMPRS COMP fight:IPFV-3PL
tí
QUOT

'It was said that Bargo and Margo were fighting.'

(907) *dhàlì à yě'd í tāní ō-n-ám̄ kí*
and CL2 monitor.lizard REF PHM say:IPFV-NAS-ERG.1PE COMP
wŭ-k-ú'd mò tāní dhàlì ká yě'd yĭsā
die:PFV-AD1-3SG MO PHM and COMP.CL2 monitor.lizard NEG
wŭ-k-ú'd yĭsā̀
die:PFV-AD1-3SG NEG

'and the monitor lizard we thought that it was dead, but the monitor lizard had not died.'

10.3 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are clauses which function as nominal modifiers, formed with the relativizers *jìn* (plural *kūn*), or *gì*, which may replace either *jìn* or *kūn*. Relative clauses are postnominal in Uduk, following their referent, and there is no differentiation for case in the relativizers.

In terms of internal structure, relative clauses have a strong preference for verb-initial constructions. If the subject of an intransitive relative clause is the noun it modifies, no arguments are stated inside the relative clause.

(908) *wàthí? gì wú-'d tā-'d ā kám pém*
man GEN.REL die:PFV-3SG COP-3SG ACC.CL2 brother POSS.1SG
bè
EMPH

'The man who died was my brother.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(909) *wàthí gì 'báth-á'd wàc-kí-'d mò*
man GEN.REL be.sick:PFV-3SG be.well:PFV-AD1-3SG MO

'The man who was sick has become well.'

(910) *é kí mŭr ì gàm tō jìn*
2SG NARR will.AUX:IPFV:AD2 LNK find thing REL.SG
dĭ-'d kī shē? mè'd à súm
exist.SG:IPFV-3SG with tooth.PART like CL2 python

'You will find something that is as different as a python.'

If the relative clause is transitive and the noun it modifies functions as the A argument of the relative clause, no overt A argument is expressed.

(911) *à kákāré tāní á'dī tā tō jìn t̲ŏr 'kwāní*
CL2 woodpecker PHM 3SG COP:PFV thing REL.SG show:IPFV people
bwày à 'dán
way IDENT DEM.VB.PROX

'The woodpecker is the one which shows people (where is) the way.'

If the relative clause is transitive and and the noun it modifies functions as the O argument of the relative clause, A is placed after the verb and O is omitted.

(912) *'kwāní yǐsà tā gì tōnt̲é? jìn shwā-n-ű́nī*
people NEG COP:PFV PP.CL1 food REL.SG eat:IPFV-NAS-ERG.3PL
yǐsà
NEG

'People didn't have food to eat (which they ate).'

(913) *à gùrùsh jìn cī-yí-n mā Dôn áhā*
CL2 money REL.SG give:PFV-AD2-NAS ERG.CL2 Don 1SG
'kón=í īs sú? 'cē'd kā 'kúmè'd
exist.PL:PFV-3PL=COLL fifty five

'The money that Don gave me amounts to 55.'

If the relative clause is intransitive and the noun it modifies is not a core argument of the relative clause, such as relative clauses which modify heads of prepositional phrases, the relative clause uses a post-verbal Marked Nominative S strategy. In such situations, the prepositions themselves do not occur.

(914) *áhā mìsh-á mò gì dǐ-n ā á'dī*
1SG see:IPFV-1SG place GEN.REL exist.SG:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 3SG

'I know the place where he is.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(915) *áhā tā-ná gì lòlòp̲ 'péní ēmbǔl jìn*
1SG COP:PFV-1SG GEN.CL1 story from:CL1 time REL.SG
í-n-ǎnā 'péní Íṭ̲āŋ só-n ā
go.PL:IPFV-NAS-ERG.1PI from:CL1 Itang run.PL:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1
'kwāní 'péní Íṭ̲āŋ mòn dǐṭ̲
people from:CL1 Itang monsoon season

'I have a story from the time when we fled from Itang, people were fleeing from Itang in the monsoon season.'

Transitive relative clauses in which the noun which is modified is not a core argument of the relative clause also prefer post-verbal arguments. In example (916), both A and O are placed after the verb.

(916) *'kwāní gì tá ṭ̲é-n̄ dhàm à gǎnā tāní*
people GEN.REL COP:IPFV hunger-ASS honey ASS.CL2 real PHM
mǐsh bwày gì lòl-ű́nī à dhàm
know:IPFV way GEN.REL collect:IPFV-ERG.3PL CL2 honey

'People who have hunger for honey know exactly the way how to get honey (which they get honey).'

(917) *ánā tā-nà gì tōnt̪é jìn sī-n ā ánā*
1PI COP:PFV-1PI PP.CL1 food REL.SG plant:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 1PI
tā-n ā rìs
COP:PFV-3PL ACC.CL2 many

'We have many (types of) food which we plant.'

Relative clauses with auxiliary constructions also tend to prefer verb-initial constructions for both the auxiliary verb as well as the main verb.

(918) *únī ʼkŏ-n ǹtágì ēmbŭl gì mì-n-únī*
3PL stay.PL:IPFV-3PL until time GEN.REL do.AUX:IPFV-NAS-3PL
ʼbíth wàshán mò dhàlì nyàrá gàrà kí ʼbíth mò dhàlì únī
strong boy MO and girl also COMP REDUP MO and 3PL
kí màsh mò
COMP marry MO

'They had to stay (wait) until the time of both the boy and the girl being mature enough to marry.'

If a sentence with a relative clause is negated, the negation particle will be placed at the end of the sentence, not the initial clause, as in example 919.

(919) *wà yĭsâ mĭsh-kí-n ā mùsùlĭyà-m bŭnī*
and NEG know:PFV-AD1-3PL ACC.CL2 responsibility-ASS POSS.3PL
jìn mùr à únī mí í bwă-ŋ
REL.SG will.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1 3PL do LOC.CL1 inside-ASS
gù'b=à
house=NEG

'And (they) don't know their responsibility which they should do in the home.'

10.4 Adverbial Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses refer to clauses which are grammatically dependent on another clause and which function to modify this clause in some way. The primary way to form adverbial subordinate clauses in Uduk is with the complementizer *kí*, which has a generalized meaning and can be used for conditional clauses, temporal clauses, sequential clauses, and simultaneous clauses. The ordering of the clauses is flexible, and subordinate-main as well as main-subordinate orders are possible.

(920) *kí é dì kí yà mò tāní, áhā mì-ná*
COMP 2SG exist.SG:PFV COMP go.SG MO PHM 1SG do.AUX:IPFV-1SG
úsh yà mò sì'dà
refuse go.SG MO also

'If you do not go, I will also refuse to go.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(921) *áhā sé-ná mís káā mìsh-á ā wùlú?*
1SG climb:IPFV-1SG up COMP.1SG see:IPFV-1SG ACC.CL2 tawny.eagle

'I was climbing up when I saw a tawny eagle.'

(922) *kí áhā 'dánkál-á wòsh tāní áhā mìsh-á ā*
COMP 1SG roll:IPFV-1SG rock PHM 1SG see:IPFV-1SG ACC.CL2
'tín 'dāsh
ant

'When I rolled the rock I saw ants.'

It is also possible to give further semantic specification to *kí* by the use of prepositions, as seen in example (923).

(923) *'kōd kí áhā 'dánkál-á wòsh tāní áhā mìsh-á ā*
after COMP 1SG roll:IPFV-1SG rock PHM 1SG see:IPFV-1SG ACC.CL2
'tín 'dāsh
ant

'After I rolled the rock I saw ants.'

In addition to subordinate clauses formed with *kí*, there are a handful of other subordinating morphemes which may be used to form adverbial subordinate clauses. Known subordinators include *wàk̲kí* for conditional clauses, *gòm* for reason and adversative clauses, and *mè'd* for temporal clauses.

(924) *gòm wàk̲kí é 'té-n ā bwà yà*
for if 2SG not.want:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 stomach.PART go.SG
thám wà'c kā k̲ūk̲á'b tāní é kí yà mò
spear fish with.CL2 hooked.spear PHM 2SG NARR go.SG MO
gŏr wà'c kā gŏrā?
angle fish with.CL2 gora

'Because if you don't want to spear fish with spears then you can go to fish with goras.'

(925) *wàk̲kí wàthí ’kósh-ó’d ā shēt̲, ’kúp̲ tō*
if person kill:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 antelope, head thing
mí-nù mí ì k̲ál bwày cōm=á?
do.AUX:PFV-IMPRS do.AUX LNK carry to his.father=Q

‘If a person kills an antelope, is the head carried to the father’s home?’

(926) *wàk̲ká ’cí pú’d-ú’d mò yìl ’kúmè’d pé kwārā áw̄*
if.CL2 child reach:IPFV-3SG MO year thirteen or
’kúmè’d ì pé sú? á’dī kí t̲él mí ’pén ì
twelve 3SG NARR begin do.PART behind.PART LNK
màsh mò
marry MO

‘If the child reaches the year thirteen or twelve then he can start to get married.’

Adversative and reason adverbial clauses are formed by *gòm*.

(927) *dhàl-kú kí yà ’dīsh jìs īs gòm é mí-n*
leave-ITV COMP go near hole body.PART for 2SG do.AUX:PFV-2SG
ì bǐt̲ í jìs
LNK fall LOC.CL1 hole

‘Don’t go near the hole lest you fall.’ (Beam and Cridland 1956)

(928) *gòm ēmbŭl gà ’dīsháñ tāní nyàrá wàk̲kí gàm-ù*
for time GEN.CL1:CL2 now PHM girl if.CL1 find.PFV?-IMPRS
kí t̲ā? mā kó mò tāní, ’kwāní kí ó kí
COMP fall:PFV? ERG.CL2 breast MO PHM, people NARR say COMP
pé-’d mò tíbà
pass:IPFV-3SG MO TIBA

‘Because at this time a girl, if (she) is found to have falling breasts, people will say that she’s past (the time of marriage).’

Temporal adverbial clauses are formed by *mè’d*, frequently with a demonstrative.

(929) *mè’d súm ’kósh-ù tāní yĭsâ wŭ-’d kí jàhànè=yà*
as python hit:PFV-IMPRS PHM NEG die:PFV-3SG quickly=NEG

‘When the python was hit then it did not die very quickly.’

Temporal adverbials with *mè'd* and a demonstrative are unlike other subordinating constructions, in that they require a verb-initial structure.

(930) *mè'd yín hè'th mà shō'k tānī ám̄ 'kō-ná*
as DEM.PROX.ANPH fall:IPFV ERG.CL2 rain PHM 1PE stay.PL-1PE
ē gù'b
LOC.DUR:CL1 house

'During the falling of rain, we stayed inside the house.'

(931) *mè'd yín dǐ-n mā shō'k kí hé'th*
as DEM.PROX.ANPH exist.SG:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 rain COMP fall
tānī à ḳó'bā dǐ-'d yǐsà
PHM CL2 corn exist.SG:IPFV-3SG NEG

'During the rainy season, there's no corn.'

(932) *mè'd yín í-n ā 'kwānī wá'd á*
as DEM.PROX.ANPH go.PL:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 people hunt LOC.CL2
Jàlì tānī, únī găm-án ā dàwà kā rìs
Chali PHM 3PL find:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 baboon with.CL2 many

'While the people were going hunting in Chali, they found many baboons.'

(933) *mè'd ç̣āán í-n ā ám̄ bwănycwá tānī ám̄*
as DEM.MED go.PL:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 1PE woods PHM 1PE
găm-kí-ná ḳwāshkām mò
find:IPFV-AD1-1PE ACC.CL2 turtle

'When we went into the bush, we found some turtles.'

10.5 Clause Chaining

Although there are a variety of different structures available for clause linking, Uduk relies particularly heavily on what is called here clause chaining. This is a type of paratactic clause linking, in which long sequences of quasi-dependent clauses are strung together, each chained clause having a non-finite verb construction with the Narrative *kí*. The complementizer *kí*, which is also the primary method of forming subordinate clauses, is likely related to the Narrative *kí*, which triggers a type of co-subordination.

In chained clauses, the first clause of the chain, unlike the rest, occurs with a finite construction, with agreement marking and tonal aspectual marking.

Thereafter each additional clause is the chain is with the Narrative *kí*. Verbs in the Narrative construction invariably occur with the base root tones, do not have agreement marking, and can also make use of the non-finite morphemes such as itive *kúʔ* and ventive *úʔ*.

The following set of examples come from the story *The Birapinya Tree*, in which the narrator uses a number of chained clauses.

(934) *únī hā̋ gò ē mò ì rìc à gàrȟs*
3PL agree:IPFV word.PART eye.PART MO LNK grind ACC.CL2 okra

'they agreed to grind the okra.'

(935) *únī kí 'cō'k mà*
3PL NARR prepare food

'and then cooked the food.'

(936) *mà kí ís mò tānī́*
food NARR ready MO PHM

'the food became ready.'

(937) *únī kí nón mà mò*
3PL NARR divide food MO

'they divided the food.'

(938) *únī kí 'dūp̣ ā 'tāsh*
3PL NARR stir ACC.CL2 SOUP

'they stirred the soup.'

(939) *únī kí shwá mà mò*
3PL NARR eat food MO

'and they ate the food.'

10.6 Coordinate Clauses

Coordination is a morphosyntactic means of linking two clauses of equal grammatical status (Payne 1997). Coordinated clauses are linked primarily in Uduk

with the conjunction *dhàlì*, 'and, but', which is placed at the beginning of one of the clauses. *Dhàlì* is quite flexible in the types of constructions it links, and the second clause need not be a clause of equal grammatical status.

(940) *wàthíʔ yán dwǎm-á dhàn à dwàm í ṯwáʔāʔ,*
man DEM.PROX fat-STV great ASS.CL2 REDUP LOC.CL1 first,
dhàlì í ʼdīshésān áʼdī ʼtī-yá ʼtī mò
and LOC.CL1 nowadays 3SG thin-STV REDUP MO

'This man was fat before, but now he is thin.'

(941) *dhàlì tōnṯéʔ yǐsà dì-ʼd yǐsā=yà dhàlì ám̄ dǒḵ ē kí*
and FOOD NEG exist.SG:PFV-3SG NEG=NEG and 1PE again NARR
ī mò c̲wǎny ā sēʼd
go.PL MO dig ACC.CL2 wild.potato

'And there was no food so we then went to dig up wild potatoes.'

(942) *wàthí kí bǔh gàndǎl tāní dhàlì sūʼk cōm mò dhàlì*
man NARR grab knife PHM and:CL1 stab father.3PL MO and:CL1
cōm kí gùs ì yà wú í wòsh à
father.3PL NARR run.SG LNK go die LOC.CL1 mountain ASS.CL2
Jàlè
Chali

'The man grabbed a knife and stabbed their father, and their father ran to die in Chali mountain.'

Dhàlì may also combine with subordinating morphemes and clause-chaining constructions.

(943) *dhàlì wàḵká dhàm úr áʼdī mò tāní é kí mísh mò*
and if.CL2 bee chase:PFV 3SG MO PHM 2SG NARR know MO
kí é mùr-í-n ì gàm à dhàm
COMP 2SG AUX.PROSP:IPFV-AD2-2SG LNK find ACC.CL2 honey

'But if the bee chases after it, then you know that you are going to find honey.'

(944) *dhàlì ʼkwāní-n tíyā kí ī ì sī pós dhàlì yèh*
and people-ASS some NARR go.PL LNK plant sorghum and sow
à pūʔ
ACC.CL2 sesame

'And some people go to plant sorghum, and scatter sesame (seeds).'

In rare instances, *wàlà* 'or' and *áw̄* 'or' (from Arabic) are also used to connect clauses. These are more commonly used as discourse devices to rephrase something, however.

(945) *bà mí yán ḿmò màsh-únī kí gwà'd īsā yémpā tānī*
so do DEM.PROX GER marry:PFV?-3PL COMP small always PHM
shí?-únī-yā mùstáḵbàl bŭ̌nī mò, áw̄ mí kūn
bad:IPFV-3PL-ACC.CL2 future POSS.3PL MO or do.NOM REL.PL
mì-n à únī mí gòmà bòr tānī shí?
do.AUX:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 3PL do for.CL2 future PHM bad:IPFV
ā únī mò
ERG.CL1 3PL MO

'This habit of them always marrying early spoils their future, or spoils the deeds which they can do for the future.'

They do connect individual lexemes more frequently, however.

(946) *bà dàŋḵá'b mùr-ù 'kúc̣ mò tānī ḿmò c̣ā'b ā cím*
so dangkab AUX:IPFV-IMPRS fold MO PHM GER sit ACC.CL2 day
dŏḵ ē mè'd kwārā áw̄ dòŋòn í mún
again like three or four LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH

'So the dangkab is rounded and then it sits (for some) days again, like three or four (days) there.'

A second way of linking clauses is through the word *tānī* (and its abbreviated form *tān*. *Tānī* is complicated, as it has uses both as a filler word as well as more meaningful grammatical uses. Its use is more phatic than grammatical, showing a transition from one idea to the next. It delimits speech into smaller sections, such as fronted topics, or when a speaker signals the end of a single speech act.

Examples of extraposed topics (947), adverbial phrase frames (948, 949, 950), gerund phrases (951, 952), and clause linking (953, 954) may be seen below.

(947) *à mă̱t tān é mí-n ì 'thā cwá áw̄ 'thā*
CL2 ashwater PHM 2SG do:PFV-2SG LNK burn wood or burn
kánycír áw̄ cwá wŭ̄nāndhàrà'c tānī
kancir.grass or wood selig PHM

'As for the ash-broth, you should burn wood, or kancir grass, or selig wood.'

(948) *kā gŭsh ínnín tānī ’kwānī ās-án nyàk̲ká Áràb*
long ago PHM people fight:IPFV-3PL with.CL2 Arab

‘A long time ago, the Uduk people fought with the Arabs.’

(949) *dhàlì ká’dān tān yìmán jăn kí cúk̲ kā*
and DEM.ADV.MED PHM liquid DEM.MED NARR drip with.CL2
k̲ú’th í īs
SLOW LOC.CL1 body.PART

‘And like that that liquid drips slowly.’

(950) *í bwàmán wát̲ tānī wàzɨ́ shwákám pém á kámú*
LOC.CL1 inside hunt PHM person uncle POSS.1SG CL2 someone
yùk̲ ká Jànà tānī
call:IPFV COMP.CL2 Jana PHM

‘Within the hunt (there was) another man, my uncle is called Jana.’

(951) *’pénī mán tānī ’kwānī kí ī bwày bàŋgàp̲*
from:CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM people NARR go.PL to corn field
mò tānī ḿmò sī ā k̲ó’bā
MO PHM GER plant ACC.CL2 corn

‘From there then people go to the corn field, to plant maize.’

(952) *kásān á’dī kí dì másān tāntānī ḿmò c̲ōr*
DEM.ADV.PROX 3SG NARR stay.SG DEM.LOC.PROX PHM GER wait
ā dhàm
ACC.CL2 bee

‘Like that he stays there to wait for a bee.’

(953) *à zʉ̀p̲ kɨ́ yà hàjàs bòzóŋ mò tānī ’kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ k̲ō*
CL2 lion NARR go snatch hartebeest MO PHM people NARR fear
īs mò zɨ̀l-ɨ́ zʉ̀p̲ mò
body.PART MO leave-AD2 lion MO

‘A lion snatched the hartebeest, people got scared and left the lion.’

(954) *kātílí 'kwāní mùr-í-ì ás tāní únī kí yé*
yesterday people intend:IPFV-AD2-LNK fight PHM 3PL NARR escape
gò īs mò
word.PART body.PART MO

'People were going to fight yesterday, but then they cancelled.'

As a filler word, however, *tāní* is used as a repair strategy during spontaneous speech. It fills pauses during speech planning difficulties or lexical retrieval failure, and can occur multiple times in a row.

(955) *á'dī tēní yà mò-m pár tēní á'dī tēní kí yà tēní*
3SG PHM go.SG:PFV place-ASS hunt PHM 3SG PHM NARR go PHM
yà gàm yáp
go find porcupine

'He go(es) to hunt, he went to find a porcupine.'

(956) *áw̄ t̲wā?ā? tēn á'dī tēn yǎ-'d ì gàm súm ítēní*
or first PHM 3SG PHM go.SG:IPFV LNK find python PHM

'or first he went and found a python.'

Although it is not quite coordination, *ì* can also function as a type of syntactic pivot used to link separate predicates which use the same subject; the form of the verb after *ì* remains in a non-finite form, however. The term subject refers to constructions in which S can link with A or S, or A links with A or S; Impersonal constructions and O-Voice constructions may link with each other, but not with S or A.

The following examples are repeated from section 9.14.

(773, repeated) S = S

wàthí? dǒsh-ó'd ì yà 'dé'k shō'k āràbíyā?
man stand:IPFV-3SG LNK go lift foot vehicle

'The man is standing and goes to lift a tire.'

(774, repeated) S = A

à 'bóm dǒsh-ó'd ì 'kósh ā k̲úrsē
CL2 woman stand:IPFV-3SG LNK hit ACC.CL2 chair

'The woman is standing and hits a chair.'

(775, repeated) *S = O

**wàthí? dǐ-'d ì kwān mā gàsáās*
*man exist:IPFV-3SG LNK hit GEN.CL2 bottle

'The man was sitting there and hit by a bottle.'

(776, repeated) *S = O_{IMPRS}

**à 'bóm dǒsh-ó'd ì běl-ù*
*CL2 woman stand:IPFV-3SG LNK push-IMPRS

'The woman is walking and then was pushed.'

(777, repeated) A = A

à nyáw ūr-ú'd ā 'tḭ́k̲ ì bù'th mò
CL2 cat chase:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 rat LNK catch MO

'The cat chased the rat and caught it.'

(778, repeated) O = O

wàthí-n 'dí? ūr ā 'kwāní ì bù'th
person-ASS steal chase:IPFV ERG.CL1 people LNK catch
mò
MO

'The thief was chased by the people and caught.'

10.7 Modal Particles

There are numerous sentence-level particles in Uduk, many of which have a multitude of uses. Delving into all the details is beyond the scope of this work, but a basic presentation of some modal particles is nonetheless useful.

Known modal particles include the following:

- 'tá
- 'té
- bè
- bà
- sà
- tí

- má

'Tá is used to create interrogative constructions, particularly for surprised questions, or those in which the speaker was expecting something else.

(957) *é ḵó-n ā dhòp̱ 'tá?*
2SG fear:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 lion QTA

'Aren't you afraid of the lion?'

'Té is used for emphatic interrogative constructions, or those in which the speaker is surprised.

(958) *úm í-n mò 'té?*
2PL go.PL:IPFV-2PL MO QTE

'Oh, are you leaving?'

With declarative constructions, the particle *'té* gives a meaning of 'just' or 'only'.

(959) *á'dī ḉá'b-á'd 'té*
3SG sit.SG:IPFV-3SG MO

'He's just sitting there.' (Beam and Cridland 1956)

There are two main emphatic particles, *bè* and *bà?*. Emphatic particles are generally used in positive statements; that is, they are not used in either questions or negated clauses. These can occur in non-verbal predicates as well as verbal predicates.

The particle *bà?* is typically used for situations of contrasts, or to show agreement.

(960) *à 'ká bà?*
CL2 dog BA

'It is a DOG.' (e.g. as opposed to a cat)

The particle *bè* is also used to show agreement, or to create an emphatic declarative construction.

(961) *à ’ká bè*
CL2 dog BE

‘It is indeed a dog.’ (agreeing with addressee)

The particle *sà* makes a sentence into a ‘wondering’ type of statement or an idea of uncertainty, as in example (962).

(962) *mánè á’dī sà?*
where 3SG SA

‘I wonder where he is...’

The particle *tí* is an evidential particle which is used for either quotative or hearsay situations. It can be used for direct quotes as well as indirect quotes.

(963) *Bărgò únī kā Márgò ō-nù kí às-án*
Bargo 3PL with.CL2 Margo say:IPFV-IMPRS COMP fight:IPFV-3PL
tí
QUOT

‘Bargo and Margo are fighting, it has been said.’

(964) *Áhā mùr-á-à wàl à ṯór-á á ṗó ārí*
1SG will.AUX:IPFV-1SG LNK talk LNK talk-LOC.CL2 LOC.CL2 top
tō jìn yùḵ-ù ká nèt̲h tí bà
DIM thing REL.SG call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP:CL2 honey badger QUOT

‘I’m going to talk about a little thing called a honey badger (which I heard).’

The particle *má* is used in Imperative or Hortative constructions, and softens the feel of the command.

(965) *kār-ī mè’d pīní ì ḵú’th má*
put-IMP hand POSS.2SG LNK dry MA

‘Keep your hands dry!’

(966) *pōsh-kí-nà* *'té* *īs* *í* *dhàn* *mò* *yún*
jump-AD1-1PI just body.PART LOC.CL1 great place DEM.ANPH
dǐ-'d *kí* *k̲wányk̲wány* *ínín* *má*
exist.SG:IPFV-3SG COMP clear there MA'

'Let us just jump through that great way, which is clear.'

Appendices

Appendix A

Verb paradigms

This section of the appendix gives some examples of different paradigms referenced in Chapter 8. Examples are given for Monovalent construction paradigms and Bivalent construction paradigms with a Class I O. Bivalent construction paradigms with a Class II O can be assumed to follow the same pattern as Monovalent in all instances.

A.1 Monovalent Imperfective

A.1.1 Open Syllable

Open Syllable Imperfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 1 (*p̲ē*, 'to jump, fly')

áhā p̲éná	1SG	ám̄ p̲éná	1PE
		ánā p̲énà	1PI
é p̲én	2SG	úm p̲én	2PL
á'dī p̲é'd	3SG	únī p̲én	3PL

Open Syllable Imperfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 2 (*dhù*, 'to keep')

áhā dhŭná	1SG	ám̄ dhŭná	1PE
		ánā dhŭnà	1PI
é dhŭn	2SG	úm dhŭn	2PL
á'dī dhŭ'd	3SG	únī dhŭn	3PL

Open Syllable Imperfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 3 (*shwá*, 'to eat (soft things)'

áhā shwāná	1SG	ám̄ shwāná	1PE
		ánā shwānà	1PI
é shwắn	2SG	úm shwắn	2PL
á'dī shwắ'd	3SG	únī shwắn	3PL

Open Syllable Imperfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 4 (*jě*, 'to curse')

áhā jèná	1SG	ám̄ jèná	1PE
		ánā jènà	1PI
é jèn	2SG	úm jèn	2PL
á'dī jè'd	3SG	únī jèn	3PL

Open Syllable Imperfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 5 (*lá*, 'to go early, quickly')

áhā lànà	1SG	ám̄ lànà	1PE
		ánā lànà	1PI
é làn	2SG	úm làn	2PL
á'dī là'd	3SG	únī làn	3PL

A.1.2 Closed Syllable

Closed Syllable Imperfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 1 (*'thā'k*, 'to spit')

áhā 'tháká	1SG	ám̄ 'tháká	1PE
		ánā 'thákà	1PI
é 'thákán	2SG	úm 'thákán	2PL
á'dī 'tháká'd	3SG	únī 'thákán	3PL

Closed Syllable Imperfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 2 (*bù'th*, 'to grasp, hold')

áhā bŭthá	1SG	ám̄ bŭthá	1PE
		ánā bŭthà	1PI
é bŭthún	2SG	úm bŭthún	2PL
á'dī bŭthú'd	3SG	únī bŭthún	3PL

Closed Syllable Imperfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 3 (*'cí'th*, 'to cut')

áhā 'cīthá	1SG	ám̄ 'cīthá	1PE
		ánā 'cīthà	1PI
é 'cīthín	2SG	úm 'cīthín	2PL
á'dī 'cīthí'd	3SG	únī 'cīthín	3PL

Closed Syllable Imperfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 4 (*bŭk*, 'to undress')

áhā bùk̲á	1SG	ám̄ bùk̲á	1PE
		ánā bùk̲à	1PI
é bùk̲ún	2SG	úm bùk̲ún	2PL
á'dī bùk̲ú'd	3SG	únī bùk̲ún	3PL

Closed Syllable Imperfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 5 (*hé'th*, 'to call')

áhā hèthá	1SG	ám̄ hèthá	1PE
		ánā hèthà	1PI
é hèthén	2SG	úm hèthén	2PL
á'dī hèthé'd	3SG	únī hèthén	3PL

A.2 Monovalent Perfective

A.2.1 Open Syllable

Open Syllable Perfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 1 (*p̲ē*, 'to jump, fly')

áhā p̲ēná	1SG	ám̄ p̲ēná	1PE
		ánā p̲ēnà	1PI
é p̲ēn	2SG	úm p̲ēn	2PL
á'dī p̲ē'd	3SG	únī p̲ēn	3PL

Open Syllable Perfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 2 (*dhù*, 'to keep')

áhā dhùná	1SG	ám̄ dhùná	1PE
		ánā dhùnà	1PI
é dhùn	2SG	úm dhùn	2PL
á'dī dhù'd	3SG	únī dhùn	3PL

Open Syllable Perfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 3 (*shwá*, 'to eat (soft things)'

áhā shwáná	1SG	ám̄ shwáná	1PE
		ánā shwánà	1PI
é shwán	2SG	úm shwán	2PL
á'dī shwá'd	3SG	únī shwán	3PL

Open Syllable Perfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 4 (*jě*, 'to curse')

áhā jěná	1SG	ám̄ jěná	1PE
		ánā jěnà	1PI
é jěn	2SG	úm jěn	2PL
á'dī jě'd	3SG	únī jěn	3PL

Open Syllable Perfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 5 (*lá*, 'to go early, quickly')

áhā láná	1SG	ám̄ láná	1PE
		ánā lánà	1PI
é lán	2SG	úm lán	2PL
á'dī lá'd	3SG	únī lán	3PL

A.2.2 Closed Syllable

Closed Syllable Perfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 1 (*'thā'k*, 'to spit')

áhā 'thāká	1SG	ám̄ 'thāká	1PE
		ánā 'thākà	1PI
é 'thākān	2SG	úm 'thākān	2PL
á'dī 'thākā'd	3SG	únī 'thākān	3PL

Closed Syllable Perfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 2 (*bù'th*, 'to grasp, hold')

áhā bùthá	1SG	ám̄ bùthá	1PE
		ánā bùthà	1PI
é bùthùn	2SG	úm bùthùn	2PL
á'dī bùthù'd	3SG	únī bùthùn	3PL

Closed Syllable Perfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 3 (*'cí'th*, 'to cut')

áhā 'cíthá	1SG	ám̄ 'cíthá	1PE
		ánā 'cíthà	1PI
é 'cíthín	2SG	úm 'cíthín	2PL
á'dī 'cíthí'd	3SG	únī 'cíthín	3PL

Closed Syllable Perfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 4 (*bŭk̲*, 'to undress')

áhā bŭk̲á	1SG	ám̄ bŭk̲á	1PE
		ánā bŭk̲à	1PI
é bŭk̲ún	2SG	úm bŭk̲ún	2PL
á'dī bŭk̲ú'd	3SG	únī bŭk̲ún	3PL

Closed Syllable Perfective Monovalent Agreement, Tone Class 5 (*hé'th*, 'to stretch')

áhā héthá	1SG	ám̄ héthá	1PE
		ánā héthà	1PI
é héthén	2SG	úm héthén	2PL
á'dī héthé'd	3SG	únī héthén	3PL

A.3 Bivalent Class I O Imperfective

A.3.1 Open Syllable

Open Syllable Imperfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 1 (*p̲ē*, 'to jump, fly')

áhā p̲éná á'dī	1SG	ám̄ p̲éná á'dī	1PE
		ánā p̲énà á'dī	1PI
é p̲é á'dī	2SG	úm p̲é á'dī	2PL
á'dī p̲é á'dī	3SG	únī p̲é á'dī	3PL

Open Syllable Imperfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 2 (*dhù*, 'to keep')

áhā dhŭná tō	1SG	ám̄ dhŭná tō	1PE
		ánā dhŭnà tō	1PI
é dhŭ tō	2SG	úm dhŭ tō	2PL
á'dī dhŭ tō	3SG	únī dhŭ tō	3PL

Open Syllable Imperfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 3 (*shwá*, 'to eat (soft things)'

áhā shwāná tō	1SG	ám̄ shwāná tō	1PE
		ánā shwānà tō	1PI
é shwǎ tō	2SG	úm shwǎ tō	2PL
á'dī shwǎ tō	3SG	únī shwǎ tō	3PL

Open Syllable Imperfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 4 (*jě*, 'to curse')

áhā jèná á'dī	1SG	ám̄ jèná á'dī	1PE
		ánā jènà á'dī	1PI
é jè á'dī	2SG	úm jè á'dī	2PL
á'dī jè á'dī	3SG	únī jè á'dī	3PL

Open Syllable Imperfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 5 (*mí*, 'to do')

áhā mìná tō	1SG	ám̄ mìná tō	1PE
		ánā mìnà tō	1PI
é mì tō	2SG	úm mì tō	2PL
á'dī mì tō	3SG	únī mì tō	3PL

A.3.2 Closed Syllable

Closed Syllable Imperfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 1 (*'thā'k*, 'to spit')

áhā 'tháká tō	1SG	ám̄ 'tháká tō	1PE
		ánā 'thákà tō	1PI
é 'thá'k tō	2SG	úm 'thá'k tō	2PL
á'dī 'thá'k tō	3SG	únī 'thá'k tō	3PL

Closed Syllable Imperfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 2 (*bù'th*, 'to grasp, hold')

áhā bŭthá á'dī	1SG	ám̄ bŭthá á'dī	1PE
		ánā bŭthà á'dī	1PI
é bŭth á'dī	2SG	úm bŭth á'dī	2PL
á'dī bŭth á'dī	3SG	únī bŭth á'dī	3PL

Closed Syllable Imperfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 3 (*'cí'th*, 'to cut')

áhā 'cīthá tō	1SG	ám̄ 'cīthá tō	1PE
		ánā 'cīthà tō	1PI
é 'cíth tō	2SG	úm 'cíth tō	2PL
á'dī 'cíth tō	3SG	únī 'cíth tō	3PL

Closed Syllable Imperfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 4 (*bŭ̱k*, ‘to undress’)

áhā bù̱ká á’dī	1SG	ám̄ bù̱ká á’dī	1PE
		ánā bù̱kà á’dī	1PI
é bù̱k á’dī	2SG	úm bù̱k á’dī	2PL
á’dī bù̱k á’dī	3SG	únī bù̱k á’dī	3PL

Closed Syllable Imperfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 5 (*hé’th*, ‘to stretch’)

áhā hèthá á’dī	1SG	ám̄ hèthá á’dī	1PE
		ánā hèthà á’dī	1PI
é hèth á’dī	2SG	úm hèth á’dī	2PL
á’dī hèth á’dī	3SG	únī hèth á’dī	3PL

A.4 Bivalent Class I O Perfective

A.4.1 Open Syllable

Open Syllable Perfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 1 (*p̱ē*, ‘to jump, fly’)

áhā p̱ēná á’dī	1SG	ám̄ p̱ēná á’dī	1PE
		ánā p̱ēnà á’dī	1PI
é p̱ē á’dī	2SG	úm p̱ē á’dī	2PL
á’dī p̱ē á’dī	3SG	únī p̱ē á’dī	3PL

Open Syllable Perfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 2 (*dhù*, ‘to keep’)

áhā dhùná tō	1SG	ám̄ dhùná tō	1PE
		ánā dhùnà tō	1PI
é dhù tō	2SG	úm dhù tō	2PL
á’dī dhù tō	3SG	únī dhù tō	3PL

Open Syllable Perfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 3 (*shwá*, ‘to eat (soft things)’

áhā shwáná tō	1SG	ám̄ shwáná tō	1PE
		ánā shwánà tō	1PI
é shwá tō	2SG	úm shwá tō	2PL
á’dī shwá tō	3SG	únī shwá tō	3PL

Open Syllable Perfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 4 (*jě*, 'to curse')

áhā jěná á'dī	1SG	ám̄ jěná á'dī	1PE
		ánā jěnà á'dī	1PI
é jě á'dī	2SG	úm jě á'dī	2PL
á'dī jě á'dī	3SG	únī jě á'dī	3PL

Open Syllable Perfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 5 (*mí*, 'to do')

áhā míná tō	1SG	ám̄ míná tō	1PE
		ánā mínà tō	1PI
é mí tō	2SG	úm mí tō	2PL
á'dī mí tō	3SG	únī mí tō	3PL

A.4.2 Closed Syllable

Closed Syllable Perfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 1 (*'thā'k*, 'to spit')

áhā 'thāká tō	1SG	ám̄ 'thāká tō	1PE
		ánā 'thākà tō	1PI
é 'thā'k tō	2SG	úm 'thā'k tō	2PL
á'dī 'thā'k tō	3SG	únī 'thā'k tō	3PL

Closed Syllable Perfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 2 (*bù'th*, 'to grasp, hold')

áhā bùthá á'dī	1SG	ám̄ bùthá á'dī	1PE
		ánā bùthà á'dī	1PI
é bù'th á'dī	2SG	úm bù'th á'dī	2PL
á'dī bù'th á'dī	3SG	únī bù'th á'dī	3PL

Closed Syllable Perfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 3 (*'cí'th*, 'to cut')

áhā 'cíthá tō	1SG	ám̄ 'cíthá tō	1PE
		ánā 'cíthà tō	1PI
é 'cíth tō	2SG	úm 'cíth tō	2PL
á'dī 'cíth tō	3SG	únī 'cíth tō	3PL

Closed Syllable Perfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 4 (*bǔ̱k*, 'to undress')

áhā bǔ̱ká á'dī	1SG	ám̄ bǔ̱ká á'dī	1PE
		ánā bǔ̱kà á'dī	1PI
é bǔ̱k á'dī	2SG	úm bǔ̱k á'dī	2PL
á'dī bǔ̱k á'dī	3SG	únī bǔ̱k á'dī	3PL

Closed Syllable Perfective Bivalent Agreement, Tone Class 5 (*hé'th*, 'to stretch')

áhā héthá tō	1SG	ám̄ héthá tō	1PE
		ánā héthà tō	1PI
é héth tō	2SG	úm héth tō	2PL
á'dī héth tō	3SG	únī héth tō	3PL

Appendix B

Yabus Uduk Phonology

This section of the appendix presents a brief overview of some of the areas in which Yabus Uduk phonology differs from the varieties found in and around Chali. This does not include an analysis of ATR vowel harmony or suprasegmental phonology.

B.1 Yabus Consonant Inventory

The Yabus variety of Uduk displays some variations in their consonants compared to the standard, and a tentative inventory may be seen in table B.1. This inventory is based on a limited amount of research, and rare and marginal phonemes are not marked, nor are allophonic variations indicated. Furthermore, it is by no means certain that all phonemes have been found. As an example, consonant length appears to be phonemic in Yabus, but more research is needed in order to determine which consonants may be geminated.

As can be seen, Yabus does not have a dental-alveolar distinction in the plosive series; instead, there are additional fricatives which are not found in standard Uduk, typically corresponding to the dental plosives. Standard Uduk /t̪/ corresponds to /s/ in Yabus, /t̪ʰ/ to /tʰ/, /d̪/ to /z/, and /t̪'/ to /s'/. Furthermore, there is one additional ejective fricative, the post-alveolar ejective fricative /ʃ'/. This corresponds to some words with /c'/ in the standard, but Yabus Uduk does also retain /c'/ in addition to /ʃ'/. As an example, standard Uduk *'cē* (*c'ē*) 'ear' is *ʃ'ē* in Yabus, but *'cí'th* (*c'íṯ'*) 'to light a fire' is *c'ís'*.

In regards to the loss of the voicing distinction currently taking place in standard Uduk, this does not apply to Yabus Uduk. Depressor consonants still have played a role in Yabus Uduk diachronically, but there is no merge between voiced and voiceless unaspirated plosives currently taking place. Voiced plosives in Yabus are fully voiced, as is the additional voiced fricative /z/.

It is likely that the historical ATR system has resulted in synchronically opaque alternations, in both ejectives as well as implosives. Yabus Uduk still retains

Table B.1: Consonant Inventory: Yabus Dialect

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Unaspirated	p p^w	t		c c^w	k k^w	ʔ
Aspirated	p^h p^{hw}	t^h		c^h c^{hw}	k^h k^{hw}	
Ejective	p’	t’ $t’^w$		c’ $c’^w$	k’ $k’^w$	
Voiced	b b^w	d d^w		ɟ $ɟ^w$	g g^w	
Implosive	ɓ $ɓ^w$	ɗ $ɗ^w$				
Fricatives		s z	ʃ $ʃ^w$			h
Ejec. Fricatives		s’	ʃ’			
Nasals	m	n		ɲ	ŋ $ŋ^w$	
Lateral		l				
Trill		r				
Approx.				y	w	

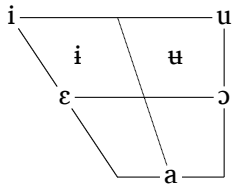
fully voiced consonants as well as ATR alternations, and some of the grammatical forms of the verb result in voiced vs. consonant geminate alternations.

Further investigations into this more conservative dialect should shed light on the synchronic alternations in the main Chali variety of Uduk.

B.2 Yabus Vowel Inventory

The Yabus dialect of Uduk shows a more conservative vowel system, and a tentative system may be seen in table B.2. +ATR vowels [e], [ʌ], and [o] are also found as surface allophones of /ɛ/, /a/, and /ɔ/. Unlike in standard Uduk, Yabus Uduk retains its ATR vowel harmony system, and these are predictable allophonic variants as a result of vowel harmony, not free variants. Additional analysis of the ATR harmony system requires further research.

Table B.2: Vowel Inventory: Yabus Dialect



Appendix C

Texts

C.1 The Birapinya tree

Originally recorded by Wendy James and Tente, 1966

(967) *à* *Bìràpínyā*
CL2 Birapinya

'The Birapinya tree'

(968) *rìs* *'kwāní* *'péní* *mò-ny* *'césh* *ín* *ì* *sā*
many people from:CL1 place-ASS earth go.PL:IPFV LNK dance
ā *bàraŋgǔ?*
ACC.CL2 Barangu

'Many people from (all over) the world came to dance the Barangu'

(969) *dhàlà* *'bóm* *nyǎŋ* *gù'b* *shēmēn* *bwày* *dhàlì* *á'dī* *'cóḵ*
and:CL2 woman build:IPFV house next.to road and 3SG cook:IPFV
mà *ō'd*
food fire

'and a woman built her house near the road, and she was cooking food on the fire'

(970) *únī kí wòth nyàrá 'kúp: kárā nyàrá ī-yú-ù rìc-áā*
3PL NARR help girl head.PART: you.all girl go.PL-VENT LNK
à gàrǐs sà
grind-ACC.1SG CL2 okra

'they (she) greeted (some) girls, "Please girls, come and grind some okra for me." '

(971) *dhàlì: è ç̲wà? ánā-nà tímín ì nyìth*
and.CL1 NEG.STRONG 1PI-do.AUX:IPFV.1PI group.of.girls LNK choose
wàshán í ē bè
boy LOC.CL1 eye.PART BE'

'And (they replied): No, others would choose boys beforehand '

(972) *kū-n tíyā dŏō ī-kú?*
DEF.GEN.PL-ASS some again go.PL-ITV

'Some others then came'

(973) *'kárā nyàrá ī-yú rìc à gàrǐs wà'*
'you.all girl go.PL-VENT grind ACC.CL2 okra WA'

'(She again asked): 'You girls, won't you come and grind some okra please?' '

(974) *'èè ç̲wàh ánā-nà tímín ì nyìth wàshán*
'NEG.STRONG 1PI-do.AUX:IPFV.1PI group.of.girls LNK choose boy
í ē bè.'
LOC.CL1 eye.PART BE'

'(They replied) 'No, others would get boyfriends before us' '

(975) *jàŋkámú dǐ-n mā kámú súsú 'kō'd*
Another exist.SG:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 other by.two behind

'Another was accompanied by another behind (her)'

(976) *únī kí ī-yú únī sú? bèsénē jàs*
3PL NARR go.PL-VENT 3PL two BESENE only

'they came, the two of them, only'

(977) *'úm gwǎnsān 'kód=í sú? sān ī-yú*
'2PL DEM.VB.PL behind=COLL two DEM.LOC.PREC.PROX go.PL-VENT
ì rìc-áā à gàrǐs.'
LNK grind-ACC.1SG CL2 okra'

'(She again asked): "The two of you coming behind, won't you come and grind some okra for me?' '

(978) *únī hā́ gò ē mò ì rìc à*
3PL agree:IPFV message.PART eye.PART MO LNK grind ACC.CL2
gàrǐs
okra

'they agreed to grind the okra'

(979) *únī kí 'cō'k mà*
3PL NARR prepare food

'and then cooked the food'

(980) *mà kí ís mò tānī́*
food NARR ready MO PHM

'the food became ready'

(981) *únī kí nón mà mò*
3PL NARR divide food MO

'they divided food'

(982) *únī kí 'dūp̱ ā 'tāsh*
3PL NARR stir ACC.CL2 SOUP

'They stirred the soup'

(983) *únī kí shwá mà mò*
3PL NARR eat food MO

'They ate the food'

(984) *dhàlì 'thúr mè'd tāní únī kí ī mò*
and wash hand PHM 3PL NARR go.PL MO

'And (when they) washed their hands they left.'

(985) *dhàlì á'dī kí ó kí: 'há-yī ì ísān*
and 3SG NARR say COMP.CL1 listen-IMPER LNK DEM.LOC.PROX.PREC
dhàl-kú? ī 'kó-yú kí ràràsh
let-ITV SER.PL stay.PL-VENT COMP a lot

'And she said, "Listen here, don't go stay there for a long time,'

(986) *gòm ám̄ mǐ-ná à ép̱ ā*
because 1PE do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-1PE LNK burn.chop ACC.CL2
Bìràpínyā shūnsān
Birapinya soon.'

'Because we want to burn-cut the Birapinya soon." '

(987) *únī kí cīh gò tāní ī ì sā-yú*
3PL NARR listen message.PART PHM go.PL:PFV LNK dance-VENT
ārí 'cénnē ǹ dòk-ú mò kā nyàŋ 'kò'd
for a bit LNK return-VENT MO WITH.CL2 after that

'They listened (to her) and danced there for a while and returned back again.'

(988) *dhàl 'kwāní bèsé sā-y ā bàràŋgŭ tí*
and people BESENE dance:PFV-AD2 ACC.CL2 Barangu QUOT
kí ràsh ràsh ràsh
COMP.CL1 a lot

'And it was told that (other) people then danced the Barangu for a long long time'

(989) *káp̲ sā mò bèsénē ī-yú mò bèsénnē gàm*
satisfy:PFV dance MO BESENE go.PL:PFV-VENT MO BESENE find:PFV
ká Bìràpínyā kí ép̲-kí-n-á'dī mò
COMP.CL2 Birapinya COMP burn.chop:PFV-AD1-NAS-ERG.3SG MO
tí
QUOT

'When satisfied with dancing they then went and found she (the woman) had cut the birapinya tree (by burning).'

(990) *dhàlì únī bèsénē kí dòt̲ gò kí: 'ááy kárā*
and 3PL BESENE NARR ask message.PART COMP: 'Hey you.all
bwày mánēh?'
way where?'

'And they then asked "Hey guys, where is the way (out)?" '

(991) *'bwày tí p̲ī-yí'd mò tí.'*
'way QUOT not.exist:IPFV-3SG MO QUOT'

' 'There is no way!' (says one of the dancers)'

(992) *dhàlì tíyā-n tíyā kí ó kí: áīy kárā ī-kí-nà*
and some-ASS some NARR say COMP.CL1 Hey guys go.PL-AD1-1PI
mò dhàn bwày tí dì mò níīndè
MO great way QUOT exist.SG:PFV MO through

'And some of the others said 'Guys let's go, there is a great way through.'

(993) *pōsh-kí-nà* *’té* *īs* *í* *dhàn* *mò* *yún*
jump:IPFV-AD1-1PI just body.PART LOC.CL1 great place DEM.ANPH
dǐ-’d *kí* *k̲wányk̲wány* *ínín* *má.’*
exist.SG:IPFV-3SG COMP clear DEM.LOC.ITV MA’

‘Let us just jump through that great way, which is clear’ ’

(994) *dhàn* *jì-n* *túr-á* *tūr* *kí* *lá* *à* *pósh*
great DEF.GEN.SG-ASS tall-STV REDUP NARR go.quickly LNK jump
mǒ *t̲wā?ā* *là* *à* *yà* *mò*
MO:LOC.CL1 first go.quickly:IPFV LNK go.SING MO

‘The tallest one quickly jumped first’

(995) *kí* *dhàn* *gàjà gàjà gàjà* *yà-à* *’cé’d-kí* *bwà*
COMP great IDPH[1] go.SING-LNK break-AD1 stomach.PART
mò *á* *’césh* *mún* *’kā’būs*
MO LOC.CL2 ground DEM.LOC.ANPH shattered[2]

‘and he flailed through the air, breaking into pieces there on the ground.’

(996) *jàmú* *dǒ ē* *pósh* *tí* *bă̲th-k-á’dī*
another again jump:IPFV QUOT follow:PFV-AD1-ACC.3SG
’pén *dǒ ē* *ì* *’cē’d* *bwà* *mò* *dhàn*
behind.PART again LNK break stomach.PART MO great
sú? *tí* *t̲wā?ā* *tīlíŋ*
two QUOT first completely

‘Another one again jumped following him, and again the second was broken completely.’

(997) *ārí* *jàmú* *gì* *kūt̲-á* *kūt̲* *kí* *màm* *dhàn*
DIM.SG.CL1 another REL.GEN short-STV REDUP NARR carry great
à *kámú* *gì* *túr-á* *tūr* *mǒ* *p̲ó?*
ASS.CL2 other REL.GEN tall-STV REDUP MO:LOC.CL2 top

‘A short person carried a tall man on his back’

[1] Gàjàgàjàgàjà denotes an ideophone for a long (thin) thing going through the air, such as a spear with a wobbling shaft, or a tall person waving their arms about flailingly.

[2] ’Kā’būs denotes something broken into pieces, or something which has become fragile after a heavy impact of some kind.

(998) *tāní únī ī-n mò shūr ʼkō mò jì shōʼk dhàn*
PHM 3PL go.PL:PFV-3PL MO IDPH[3] stay.PL:IPFV MO upright great
thúʼb ʼkō kī ē mò
IDPH[4] stay.PL:IPFV with:CL1 eye.PART MO

'They jumped, landing on their feet with a great noise, upright and alive.'

(999) *jàmú dǒ ē màm à kámú bè dǒ ē bè shūr thúʼb*
another again carry:PFV ACC.CL2 other BE again BE IDPH IDPH

'Another one also carried a second one and they jumped, also landing upright.'

(1000) *dhàl dhàn jàmú túr-á tūr kí yà-yú ʼkōʼd*
and great another tall-STV REDUP NARR go.SING-VENT after
dè pōsh kí pōsh píʼdī áʼdī ʼdéʔ dǒ ē yà-à
again jump COMP jump POSS.3SG 3SG one again go.SING-LNK
ʼcēʼd-kí bwà mǒ ʼcésh
break-AD1 stomach.PART MO:LOC.CL2 ground

'Another big tall man came after them, and jumped on his own and broke on the ground'

(1001) *dhàlì tíyā-n tíyā kí ḵō-ʔú mò mò ó:*
and others-ASS other NARR fear-VENT MO MO say:PFV:
ēēh thāāʔ nǎ-â dì-kú mò
NEG.STRONG do.AUX:PFV-ERG.1SG:LNK exist.SG-ITV MO
nīī gànà tíyā
DEM.LOC.ANPH.DIST real some

'And some of the others were afraid and said 'Oh no, I can remain behind (in some place)' '

[3]Shūr denotes an ideophone for the sound falling from a high place.
[4]Thúʼb denotes an ideophone for the noise of hitting the ground (e.g. from falling from a high place).

(1002) *kā* *rìs* *tíyā* *kí* *c̲ī̲k̲* *gò-m* *pí'dī*
with:CL2 many some NARR listen message.PART-ASS POSS.3SG
'kó-yú *mò* *mís* *í* *mún,* *nyànyé* *mís*
stay.PL:PFV-VENT MO up LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH many up
í *mún*
LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH

'Many of the others listened to his message and stayed up there, many of them.'

C.2 The drunk man and the hyena

Originally recorded by Wendy James and Rafka, 1966

(1003) *wàthí ’kōsh mā sū dhàlì īsh í bwày*
man drunk:IPFV ERG.CL2 beer and sleep:PFV LOC.CL1 road

‘A man was drunk and sleeping on the road.’

(1004) *dhàlà nyùrúny kí ’dé’k á’dī*
and:CL2 hyena NARR lift 3SG

‘And a hyena picked him up.’

(1005) *ì ḵál ì yà kār-ú gù’b wòsh*
LNK carry LNK go.SG set-VENT LOC.CL1 house

‘and carried and put (him) in a stone house.’

(1006) *dhàl ūshú ūc̣í kí tā’k dhàlì ó kú bǎbà tō*
and DIM.PL.CL1 children NARR praise and say COMP father it
dǐ kī dhì?
exist.SG:IPFV with:CL1 inedible

‘And the (hyena’s) small children praised (him) and said “Father, the thing is not ready to eat.” ’

(1007) *dhàlì á’dī kí ó ūc̣í kí: úm wàc̣ à*
and:CL1 3SG NARR say children COMP: 2PL be.well:PFV ERG.CL1
’té-n ā īs ī shóm ’té??
not.want:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 body.PART LINK eat just

‘And he said to the children, ‘Maybe you just don’t want to eat?”

(1008) *dhàlì ūshí ūc̣í kí c̣á'b à tāh wàthí*
and:CL1 DIM.PL.CL1 children NARR sit LNK praise man
kán kí wàthí dǐ kī ē
DEM.ADV.PROX COMP man exist.SG:IPFV with:CL1 eye.PART

'And the children kept praising while the man was there.'

(1009) *wàthí kí bŭh gàndăl tānī dhàlì sū'k cōm mò dhàlì*
man NARR grab knife PHM and:CL1 stab father.3PL MO and:CL1
cōm kí gùs ì yà wú í wòsh à
father.3PL NARR run.SG LNK SER die LOC.CL1 mountain ASS.CL2
Jàlè
Chali

'The man grabbed a knife and stabbed their father, and their father ran to die in Chali mountain.'

(1010) *dhàlì ūshí ūc̣í kí ó á'dī kí: é ón-ámn̄*
and:CL1 DIM.PL:CL1 children NARR say 3SG COMP 2SG say-ERG.1PE
shwāné nín
a bit ago

'And the small children said to him, 'We told you earlier'

(1011) *é ón-ámn̄ kí dhàl-kú kí yà wá'd í*
2SG say:PFV-ERG.1PE COMP leave-ITV COMP go.SG hunt LOC.CL1
wòsh à jàlè, à 'cál'cálā cālás
mountain ASS.CL2 Chali, CL2 fig.tree empty:REDUP

'We told you not to go hunt in the Chali mountain, the fig tree is empty.' (you're left with nothing)'

C.3 How to make ash broth

by Butros, recorded in 2011

(1012) *áā Bŭtrɔ̀s mùr-á ṯór ā ṯōr gòm cúḵ, jìn*
1SG Butros will.AUX:IPFV-1SG tell ACC.CL2 tell about filter, REL
cūḵ-ánā mǎṯ
filter:IPFV-ERG.1PI mat

'I Butros am going to talk about dripping (filtering with ashes), ash broth that we filter'

(1013) *ń-ṯwā?ā? tō-n ṯwā?ā? gì mì-n-é-è*
LOC.CL1-first thing-ASS first REL.GEN do.AUX:IPFV-NAS-ERG.2SG
mí tānɨ́
LNK do

'At first, the first thing that you should do'

(1014) *à mǎṯ tān é mí-n ì 'thā cwá áw̄ 'thā*
CL2 ashwater PHM 2SG do.AUX:PFV-2SG LNK burn wood or burn
kánycír áw̄ cwá wŭnāndhàrà'c tānɨ́
kancir.grass or wood selig PHM

'As for the ash-broth, you should burn wood, or kancir grass, or selig wood'

(1015) *a'dī kí shwá ì yà kúp mò (tā)ní ḵál-í 'pīny*
3SG NARR burn LNK go.SG smolder MO PHM take-AD2 ashes
bèské tān
BESENE PHM

'It burns and smolders, then turns into ashes then'

(1016) *é mú'th-í 'pīny pí'dī jăntān, é kí wòl*
2SG scoop:PFV-AD2 ashes POSS.3SG DEM.MED 2SG NARR pour
á nŏs, à nŏs jăntān tā gì jùsán
LOC.CL2 pot, CL2 pot DEM.MED COP:PFV GEN.CL1 hole

'you scoop its ashes, you pour (them) into the pot, that pot with a hole'

(1017) *yàn ì mò shú-'d 'kŏ-n í*
DEM.PROX LNK place puncture-3SG stay.PL:IPFV-3PL LOC.CL1
mà'dán tān é kí ḳál á
DEM.LOC.MED PHM 2SG NARR take it

'There are these hole-places there you take it'

(1018) *é kí ḳūcūr á shō? dŏō tān é kí kār-kú?*
2SG NARR soften LOC.CL2 grass again PHM 2SG NARR put-ITV
í 'twā? ā nŏs jăn má'dān tān
LOC.CL1 mouth ASS.CL2 pot DEM.MED DEM.LOC.MED PHM

'You soften the grass, then you put it inside the pot there'

(1019) *dhàlì é kí wòl-kí 'pīny bèsé? bwàm mà nŏs*
and 2SG NARR pour-AD1 ashes BESENE inside GEN.CL2 pot
jăn tān
DEM.PROX2 PHM

'And you pour those ashes then inside that pot'

(1020) *é kí wòl-kí yì'dé mà'dán tān*
2SG NARR pour-AD1 water DEM.LOC.MED PHM

'You pour the water there'

(1021) *é kí dhàl ḳá'b 'pénā kámú-ŋ kámú? dŏḳ ē*
2SG NARR let put from:CL2 other-ASS other again

'You let it sit one on top of the other'

(1022) *ḳá'b ā nŏs 'pénā nŏs ā kámú-ŋ kámú? dŏḳ ē*
put ACC.CL2 pot from:CL2 pot ASS.CL2 other-ASS other again

'Put the pot, the first one on top of the other'

(1023) *dhàlì ká'dān tān yìmán jǎn kí cúk̲ kā*
and DEM.ADV.MED PHM liquid DEM.MED NARR drip with:CL2
k̲ú'th ì īs
SLOW LNK body.REFL

'And like that that liquid drips slowly'

(1024) *í má'dān tān á'dī kí ç̣á à p̲ó bwày*
LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM 3SG NARR sit.SG:IPFV LNK top way
à nǒs yún í mún
ASS.CL2 pot DEM.ANPH LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH

'From there it keeps on dripping into that pot'

(1025) *ī yā mǐ yā k̲ú'th yì'dé mò 'pénî mún*
go.PL SER do.AUX SER dry water MO from:CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH
'pénî 'kúp̲ān má'dān tān
from:CL1 top DEM.LOC.MED PHM

'It keeps on going until the water is dry from there, from the top (section) there'

(1026) *ká'dān tān é kí k̲ál ā mǎt̲ jǎn*
DEM.ADV.MED PHM 2SG NARR take ACC.CL2 ashwater DEM.MED
mò bèsénē
MO BESENE

'Like that you take that ashwater then'

(1027) *'pénî 'kúp̲ ā kámú tān*
from:CL1 top ASS.CL2 other PHM

'From the one on top'

(1028) *é kí k̲āl yìmán jǎn mò bèskénē ánā kí mí*
2SG NARR take:IPFV liquid DEM.MED MO BESENE 1PI NARR do
ā 'tāsh mò
ACC.CL2 soup MO

'You take that liquid and thus we make soup.'

C.4 How to find honey

by Pastor Jermaya, recorded in 2013

(1029) *ḿmò p̱ār ā dhàm*
GER find ACC.CL2 honey

'How to find honey'

(1030) *bà thábàn 'kwāním pā-nà tānί,*
so of course Uduk-POSS.1PI PHM

'So we Uduk people'

(1031) *'Kwānί gì tá ṯé-ñ dhàm à gănā tānί*
people PP.CL1 COP:IPFV hunger-ASS honey ASS.CL2 real PHM
mĭsh bwày gì lòl-ŭnī à dhàm
know:IPFV way REL.GEN collect:IPFV-ERG.3PL CL2 honey

'People who have hunger for honey know exactly the way how to get honey'

(1032) *dhàl 'kwānί gì tá-n ā mànpár tānί*
and people REL.GEN COP:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 hunter PHM
mĭsh bwày gì pār-ūnī à dhàm
know:IPFV way REL.GEN hunt:IPFV-ERG.3PL CL2 honey

'And the people who are hunters know how to hunt for honey.'

(1033) *wàthí gì tá ṯé-n dhàm tāntānί mí*
person PP.CL1 COP:IPFV hunger-ASS honey PHM do.AUX:PFV
yà dì 'té yàn ārí wòr
go.SG stay.SG just near DIM.SG.CL1 stream

'A person who is hungry for honey goes and just stays near a small stream'

(1034) *kásān á'dī kí dì másān tāntānī ḿmò*
DEM.ADV.PROX 3SG NARR stay.SG DEM.LOC.PROX PHM GER
ç̱ōr ā dhàm
wait ACC.CL2 bee

'Like that he stays there to wait for a bee'

(1035) *dhàm mùr-í p̱ē 'pénā 'bān jànā tānī*
bee will.AUX:IPFV-AD2 fly from:CL2 direction which PHM

'The bee will fly from some (lit: which) direction then'

(1036) *dhàm mùr-í p̱ē-yú 'pénī mún tāntānī*
bee will.AUX:IPFV-AD2 fly-VENT from:CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH PHM
á'dī kí dì tāntānī ç̱ā'b híl 'té?
3SG NARR stay.SG PHM keep.SG watch just

'The bee will fly from there and he (meanwhile) stays and keeps watching'

(1037) *á'dī mĭsh bwày mà dhàm 'bár mò tānī*
3SG know:IPFV way GEN.CL2 bee completely MO PHM

'He then really knows the direction of the bee then'

(1038) *p̱ē gì p̱ē-n ā á'dī má'dān tān á'dī*
fly:PFV GEN.CL1 fly:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 3SG DEM.LOC.MED PHM 3SG
kí băth 'té mún bè
NARR follow just DEM.LOC.MED BE

'the bee which flies from there he follows it to the place (it's going)'

(1039) *tāgì á'dī kí yà p̱ú'd mò 'dīshé-ŋ gănā mò í yàn*
until 3SG NARR go.SG arrive MO close-ASS real MO LOC.CL1 near
cwá tāntānī
tree PHM

'Until it then goes and reaches near to the precise place next to the tree then'

(1040) *á'dī kí ca̱ih dhà dhàm shún-ú'd í cwá áw̄*
3SG NARR listen great bee hollow:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 tree or
ka̱ūr í mún
hollow LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH

'he then listens for the great sound of bees inside the hole of the tree there.'

(1041) *á'dī gò-n à īs á'dī kí pá̱r cwá ē*
3SG cry:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 body.PART 3SG NARR see tree eye.PART

'It makes a sound (and) he then sees the tree.'

(1042) *bwày à kámú tāntānī ā'dí yě yùka̱-kà*
way ASS.CL2 other PHM 3SG chase:IPFV call:IPFV-COMP:CL2
kákārḗ
woodpecker

'Another way then (is that) he calls the bird called woodpecker.'

(1043) *á'dī tāntānī wàka̱kí pá̱-'d tānī á'dī kí kō kí*
3SG PHM if fly:PFV-3SG PHM 3SG NARR cry COMP
ka̱étēka̱étēka̱étē
IDPH

'He, when (it) flies then it cries ketekete.'

(1044) *á'dī kí bǎth 'dī jǎn kí shú é á'dī kí*
3SG NARR follow bird DEM.MED COMP guide:PFV 2SG 3SG NARR
yà mí ārá hárāgà
go.SG do DIM.SG.CL2 movement

'he then follows that bird which guides you, guides him until it make some movement (to show him the bees)'

(1045) *cwá kīsí sē tānī á'dī kí yà gòm ítā̱*
tree DEM.ADV.PROX2 PHM 3SG NARR go.SG land LOC.DEM.PREC.MED2
á'dī kí dǒ ē mí kísī sē yà gòm ítā̱
3SG NARR again do DEM.ADV.PROX2 go.SG land LOC.DEM.PREC.MED2

'the tree, this way, then it then goes and lands there, it then again it acts this way and lands there.'

(1046) *à kákārέ tānί á'dī tā tō jìn t̲ǒr 'kwāní*
CL2 woodpecker PHM 3SG COP:PFV thing REL show:IPFV people
bwày à 'dán
way IDENT DEM.VB.PROX

'The woodpecker is the one which shows people the way'

(1047) *á'dī mí-'d ì sús é gòm áyì tō mè'd à*
3SG do.AUX:PFV-3SG LNK lead 2SG for every thing like CL2
dhòp̲ áw̄ à rĭs tō-n tíyā kūn shwá-n
lion or CL2 many.PL thing-ASS some REL.PL eat:PFV-NAS
ā nyòr
ERG.CL1 anger

'It can lead you to many things, like a lion or many other things that are dangerous.'

(1048) *dhàlì ārí 'dī-ŋ kámú yùk̲-kù kí bŭrē?*
and DIM.SG.CL1 bird-ASS other call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP bee-eater

'And another small bird called a bee-eater'

(1049) *á'dī sī'dā shwă-'d ā dhàm*
3SG also eat:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 bees

'it also eats bees'

(1050) *'Kwāní yĭsâ băth bŭrè? yĭsâ*
people NEG follow:PFV bee-eater NEG

'People don't follow the bee-eater (though)'

(1051) *dhàlì à kákārέ? sī'dā shwă-'d ā yìsh à*
and CL2 woodpecker also eat:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 larva ASS.CL2
dhàm
bee

'And the woodpecker also eats bee larva'

(1052) *kí é mìsh-ín ā kákārέ? kí á'dī*
COMP 2SG see:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 woodpecker COMP 3SG
ūr mā dhàm
chase:IPFV ERG.CL2 bee

'when you see a woodpecker and it is being chased by a bee'

(1053) *dhàlì wàk̲kí á'dī dǐ-n mā dhàm kí úr*
and if 3SG exist.SG:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 bee COMP chase
tāní
PHM

'But if it is not being chased by a bee then'

(1054) *é kí mŭr ì gàm tō jìn dǐ-'d*
2SG NARR will.AUX:IPFV:AD2 LNK find thing REL exist.SG:IPFV-3SG
kī shēʔ mè'd à súm
with tooth.PART like CL2 python

'you will get something that is as different as a python.'

(1055) *dhàlì wàk̲ká dhàm úr á'dī mò tāní é kí mísh mò*
and if.CL2 bee chase:PFV 3SG MO PHM 2SG NARR know MO
kí é mùr-í-n ì gàm à dhàm
COMP 2SG will.AUX:IPFV-AD2-2SG LNK find ACC.CL2 honey

'But if the bee chases after it, then you know that you are going to find honey.'

(1056) *é kí 'kár cwá kī ē, é kí p̲ár ā*
2SG NARR ? tree with:CL1 eye.PART 2SG NARR see ACC.CL2
k̲ūr ē, é kí gàm à dhàm mò
hollow eye.PART 2SG NARR find ACC.CL2 honey MO

'You scan the tree with your eyes, you look for the treehole, and then you find the honey.'

C.5 The fox friend

by Pastor Jermaya, recorded in 2013

(1057) *gò lòlòp̲ bănā kūn lòlòp-ù á p̲ó? tō-n*
story POSS.1PI REL.PL tell:PFV-IMPRS LOC.CL1 top thing-ASS
tíyā
some

'Our stories which tell about some things'

(1058) *ó ká mómăk̲ mǐ-'d kāsé*
say:PFV COMP:CL2 fox do:IPFV:AD2-3SG DEM.ADV.PROX2

'say that the fox acts in a certain way.'

(1059) *'bór-ó'd bè áhā mùr-á à t̲él gò-m*
well 1SG will.AUX:IPFV-1SG LNK tell message.PART-ASS
'pén mò kí gò lòlòp̲ gì dǐ-'d
behind.PART MO COMP story REL.GEN exist.SG:IPFV-3SG
í 'kwāním pā
LOC.CL1 Uduk

'Well, I'm going to start telling you a story which is (told) among the Uduk'

(1060) *gò lòlòp̲ pém mùr-kà t̲ór á p̲ó mómăk̲*
story POSS.1SG will.AUX:IPFV-ERG.1SG tell LOC.CL2 top fox

'My story I am going to tell is about the fox'

(1061) *mómăk̲ thábàn tā tō gì t̲ór ā*
fox of course COP:PFV something REL.GEN tell:IPFV ACC.CL2
rìs 'kwāním pā ā t̲ór á p̲ó rìs mí-m
many Uduk ASS.CL2 tell:IPFV LOC.CL2 top many do-ASS
pí'dī
POSS.3SG

'Normally the fox is an animal which many Uduk people tell about its doings'

(1062) *bà wàk̲kí gò ó-nù ká mómăk̲ tāní mómăk̲*
so if word say:PFV-IMPRS COMP:CL2 fox PHM fox
thábàn tā gò-n t̲ór gì mí
of course COP:PFV word-ASS tell:IPFV REL.GEN-ASS do:PFV
'kwāní
people

'If the word fox is said, (normally) it means a lie which is told by people.'

(1063) *á'dī tāní yě-'d kī áyyì bwày 'péná t̲ōr*
3SG PHM escape:IPFV-3SG with:CL1 any way from:CL2 tell
pí'dī jă'dān
POSS.3SG DEM.PROX2

'He (the fox) can escape by any means with his lies.'

(1064) *ēmbŭl k̲án jìn gùs-ă'dī ì húr á bìr*
time DEM.MED REL-ASS run:PFV-ERG.3SG LNK enter LOC.CL2 root
cwá
tree

'One time when he was running to enter the roots of a tree (where his hole was)'

(1065) *hùr-á'dī à bìr cwá tāntāní, jè 'tā*
enter:IPFV-ERG.3SG CL2 root tree PHM, elephant COND:PFV
kí bù'th á'dī bèsé?
COMP grab 3SG BESENE

'He entered the tree roots, (and) an elephant was trying to grab him'

(1066) *jè kí bùth á'dī tāní*
elephant NARR grab 3SG PHM

'The elelphant caught him'

(1067) *á'dī kí ó kí é yĭsâ bùth à tíyā, é*
3SG NARR say COMP 2SG NEG grab:PFV ACC.CL2 anyone, 2SG
bŭth-ún ā bìr cwá
grab:IPFV-2SG ACC.CL2 root tree

'(and) he said (that), "You are not catching me, you are catching the root of the tree." '

(1068) *jè kí dhàl k-á'dī mè'd mò dŏ ē, á'dī kí dŏ ē*
people NARR let COMP-3SG hand MO again, 3SG NARR again
ḿmò gàm-ù á'dī īs mò dŏ ē
GER find-IMPRS 3SG body.PART MO again

'The elephant let him go, he again (grabbed him) and again he was caught, his real body'

(1069) *á'dī kí ç̱āh é yĭsâ bŭ'th mò-ŋ gànà tíyā*
3SG NARR NEG.STRONG 2SG NEG grab:IPFV place-ASS real any

'He (said) "Cah! No you are (still) not grabbing the right place" '

(1070) *é bŭth dhàn à bìr cwá? kí īs í īs*
2SG grab:IPFV great CL2 root tree COMP body LOC.CL1 body.PART
pí'dī á'dī bŭth-ù 'tébè
POSS.3SG 3SG grab:IPFV-IMPRS EMPH

'You are catching a big root, and it is its body which is caught." '

(1071) *dhàlì 'péní máñ tāní á'dī kí yà yè mò*
and:CL1 from DEM.LOC.MED PHM 3SG NARR go.SG escape MO
kā t̲ōr pí'dī
with:CL2 talk POSS.3SG

'And thus, he managed to escape with his tales.'

(1072) *bà ŋàp̲-kà mí kí ārí kūt̲kūt̲ náskīn tāní tāgì*
so want.AUX:IPFV-ERG.1SG do COMP DIM short still PHM until
ánā kí p̲ár ē
1PI NARR see eye.PART

'So I want to do it quickly for a bit until we see.'

(1073) *bà à mómǎ̱k tāní ḿmò mùth-á'dī à mǔ'th ē*
so CL2 fox PHM GER trick:IPFV-ERG.3SG LNK trick eye.PART
tāní
PHM

'So the fox will trick (people)'

(1074) *á'dī kí gàm ēmbǔl tāní ḿmò yé mò*
3SG NARR find time PHM GER escape MO

'(and then) he gets a chance to escape'

(1075) *kā yíhā tāní á'dī dǒ ē hè'k jè ē*
with:CL2 same.time PHM 3SG again deceive elephant eye.PART

'At the same time again he had tricked the elephant'

(1076) *ó kí áā n-ná à 'ká̱p shō'k pīní*
say:PFV COMP 1SG do.AUX:IPFV-1SG LNK scrape feet POSS.2SG
yán mò tí tāní, ḿmò yà 'ká-kí é à
DEM.PROX1 MO QUOT PHM GER go.SG make-AD1 2SG CL2
pā̱ tíyā"
shoes some

'saying that "I can cut the skin of your feet, in order to go and make some shoes for you.'

(1077) *ḿmò 'káp-á'dī-yā kámú shō'k mò tāní á'dī kí gùs*
GER scrape-ERG.3SG ACC.CL2 other foot MO PHM 3SG NARR
mò bà'k
run.SG MO

'After cutting the other's (elephant's) feet, he ran to hide.'

(1078) *á'dī kí yà bà'k mò ńnīī kí cācā*
3SG NARR go.SG hide MO DEM.LOC.ANPH.DIST COMP big.ADV
tāní
PHM

'He went to hide for a long time'

(1079) *jè ḿmò yà-n-ă'dī ŋa̱p á'dī tānī súk*
elephant GER go.SG-NAS-ERG.3SG seek 3SG PHM pierce:IPFV
ā tō shō'k á'dī kí mòl yà mò
ERG.CL1 thing foot 3SG NARR be.unable go.SG MO

'When the elephant went to search for him, things pinned his (the elephant's) feet down and he couldn't move'

(1080) *dhàlì á'dī kí shwá ā nyòr kāgàhárā*
and:CL1 3SG NARR eat ERG.CL1 anger very

'And he become very angry'

(1081) *dhàlì ā 'dán jìn mì-n mà mó̱măk̲*
and:CL1 IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL do:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 fox

'and this was what the fox did'

(1082) *dhàlì ūshí gò à nán kūn ŋà̱p-kà*
and DIM.CL1.PL word IDENT DEM.VB.PL REL.PL want:IPFV-ERG.1SG
ó
say

'and these are the words that I wanted to tell.'

C.6 The honey badger

by Pastor Jermaya, recorded in 2013

(1083) *áhā mùr-á à wàl à t̲ór-á á p̲ó*
1SG will.AUX:IPFV-1SG LNK talk LNK talk-LOC.CL2 LOC.CL2 top
ārí tō jìn yùk̲-ù ká nèt̲h tí
DIM thing REL call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP:CL2 honey badger QUOT
bà
BA

'I'm going to talk about a little thing called a honey badger (which I heard).'

(1084) *'kwāní í-n ì pár tānī 'kwāní kí ī gàm*
people go.PL:IPFV-3PL LNK hunt PHM people NARR go.PL find
à nèt̲h
ACC.CL2 honey badger

'(One day) people were going to hunt, people were going to find a honey badger.'

(1085) *ká nèt̲h c̲ā'b-ā'd ì lǒl ā*
COMP:CL2 honey badger stay.SG:PFV-3SG LNK collect ACC.CL2
dhàm mò tānī
honey MO PHM

'The honey badger was continuing to collect honey'

(1086) *ká nèt̲h lòl-í-'d ā dhàm mò*
COMP:CL2 honey badger collect:IPFV-AD2-3SG ACC.CL2 honey MO
tānī
PHM

'When the honey badger finished collecting the honey'

(1087) *'Kwāní kí bà? mò*
people NARR hide MO

'People then hid'

(1088) *wàthí kí bà'k p̲ár á'dī ē mò jìn mì-n*
person NARR hide see 3SG eye.PART MO REL do.AUX:IPFV-NAS
à á'dī bà'k tō ń-'cīné?
ERG.CL1 3SG hide thing LOC3-place

'a person hides in order to see the place where he is hiding the honey'

(1089) *bà à nèt̲h kí lǒl ā dhàm tāní k̲ál*
so CL2 honey badger NARR collect ACC.CL2 honey PHM take:PFV
ā dhàm c̲ǎn mò 'péní mís tāní
ACC.CL2 honey DEM.MED MO from:CL1 up PHM

'So the honey badger finds honey and takes that honey from up above'

(1090) *á'dī kí thūl í tāní k̲ál ā dhàm kār*
3SG NARR descend IPHM PHM bring:PFV ACC.CL2 honey place
jǎt̲t̲ē móót̲ō kí bà'k á'dī dhàm tāní
DEM.REM2 DEM.LOC.MED2 COMP hide:PFV 3SG honey PHM

'He comes down (from the tree), bringing the honey and placing it in different places.'

(1091) *'kwāní kí kār á'dī sē mís mò tāní*
people NARR place 3SG climb up MO PHM

'People let him climb up the tree and then (they) hide the honey from him.'

(1092) *'kwāní kí k̲wāl ā dhàm mò āk̲ mò ē mò*
people NARR steal ACC.CL2 honey MO move place eye.PART MO
á'dī dǒō lǒl-í jàmú tāní
3SG again collect-AD2 another PHM

'People steal the honey and move it to another place, while he is going up to get some more'

(1093) *'kwāní kí ḳál mò kār-í mò-ŋ kámú kúl-í mò*
people NARR take MO put-AD2 place-ASS other return-AD2 MO
á'dī kí sē mís tāní
3SG NARR climb up PHM

'People take it and put it in another place, he returns and climbs back up'

(1094) *'kwāní dŏō kí ḳwāl ā dhàm mò bà'k mò*
people again NARR steal ACC.CL2 honey MO hide MO

'People again steal the honey and hide it'

(1095) *á'dī kí lŏl ā dhàm lŏl ā dhàm mò*
3SG NARR collect ACC.CL2 honey collect ACC.CL2 honey MO
mŭr ì yà (yà) 'bár mò tāní
will.AUX:IPFV:AD2 LNK go (go) complete MO PHM

'he collects the honey, until it's almost finished'

(1096) *á'dī kí 'kár mò kī ē dhàm p̣ī-yí'd mò*
3SG NARR search MO with eye.PART honey not.exist:IPFV-3SG MO
à cí kí mí ā nyòr mò
CL2 creature NARR do ERG.CL1 anger MO

'he searches for the honey; there isn't any (honey) and he gets angry'

(1097) *á'dī kí ŋáp̣ mò mò gŭn dhŭ-n-á'dī à*
3SG NARR seek MO place DEM.ANPH.PL keep-NAS-ERG.3SG CL2
dhàm yĭsà 'kó-n à dhàlì p̣ī-yí'd mò
honey NEG exist.PL:PFV-3PL NEG and not.exist:IPFV-3SG MO
máñ tāní
here PHM

'He looks for the places where he had placed the honey, and there weren't any there'

(1098) *à cí kí shwá ā nyòr mò*
CL2 creature NARR eat ERG.CL1 anger MO

'and he gets angry'

(1099) *ḿmò ó kí ŋa̱p à shím ’kwānímpā mò*
GER try COMP seek LNK sniff.out people MO

'Trying to sniff out the people'

(1100) *à cí kí mí yà wá wàthíŋ kámú ē īs*
CL2 creature NARR do go appear someone eye.PART body.PART
í ’cīné mà’dán tānī
LOC.CL1 inside DEM.LOC.MED PHM

'Then he suddenly finds someone there'

(1101) *à cí kí ’kósh wàthí mò*
CL2 creature NARR hit person MO

'he attacks the man'

(1102) *à cí wŭ’c ’kwāní ēyá dhèm ísān*
CL2 creature bite:PFV people each ankle DEM.LOC.PROX.SPEC

'He bites people on the ankle'

(1103) *(mì)-né sūk̲ kā mè-é tānī*
(do)-NAS-ERG.2SG stab with spear-IPHM PHM

'If you try to stab him (the honey badger) with a spear'

(1104) *yĭsā mì-n mà mè mìŋ kámú=yà*
NEG do:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 spear anything=NEG

'The spear won't do anything to it'

(1105) *dhàl ’kwāní kí ’kósh mò únī kí ás mò kí shī?shī?*
and people NARR hit MO 3PL NARR fight MO COMP horrible
gòmà dhàm pí’dī bè
for:CL2 honey POSS.3SG BE.PTCLE

‘ People had a great fight with him for his honey’

(1106) *À nèth ’bīth ā mí kí ’bīth*
CL2 honey badger strong:IPFV ERG.CL1 do COMP REDUP

‘The honey badger is very strong (difficult).’

C.7 Planting and harvesting

by Pastor Jermaya, recorded in 2013

(1107) *gò lòlòp̲ gòm tō-n sī*
story about thing-NAS plant

'A story of planting things'

(1108) *bà í 'kwāním pā tāní tō jìn kár ā*
so LOC.CL1 Uduk people PHM thing REL put:IPFV ERG.CL1
'kwāním pā kī cā tāní, mò sī tō
Uduk people with big PHM MO plantPFV thing

'So among the Uduk people, something which is held by the Uduk to be important (big) is planting'

(1109) *wàk̲ká shōk̲ héth-é'd mò tāní 'kwāní 'bár mò 'bór-á*
if:CL2 rain rain:IPFV-3SG MO PHM people ALL MO good:IPFV-STV
bwà kí 'bōr tāní ḿmò hè'th mà shōk̲
stomach.PART COMP REDUP PHM GER rain GEN.CL2 rain

'If it rains, everyone becomes happy because of the rain'

(1110) *í-t̲wā? ḿmò 'thúp̲ 'kwāní īs*
PREP-first GER cool people body.PART

'Firstly cooling the people off.'

(1111) *dhàlì nìmbìr īthīnên tāní ḿmò gàm tō-n thīs*
and number two PHM GER find thing-NAS new

'And secondly getting new things.'

(1112) *dhàlì wàk̲ká shōk̲ héth-é'd mò tāní í-t̲wā?ā? tō*
and if:CL2 rain rain:PFV-3SG MO PHM PREP-first thing
yún kí 'ká mò
DEM:SPOKEN NARR grow MO

'And if it rains, things start to germinate first.'

(1113) *à púlāny kí 'ká mò tāní mò kí 'thúp̲ mò*
CL2 new grass NARR grow MO PHM place NARR cool MO

'And the new grass grows, and then it (lit: the place) cools off.'

(1114) *dhàlì tō ē kí gàm à shō mò*
and animal NARR find ACC.CL2 grass MO

'And the animals get grass.'

(1115) *bìp̲ kí gàm à shō mò, mìyà kí gàm à shō*
cow NARR find ACC.CL2 grass MO goat NARR find ACC.CL2 grass
mò, à kó kí sǐ'th mò
MO CL2 milk NARR increase MO

'Cows get grass, goats get grass, and the milk increases.'

(1116) *'péní mán tāní 'kwāní kí ī bwày bàŋgàp̲*
from:CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM people NARR go.PL to corn field
mò tāní ḿmò sī ā k̲ó'bā
MO PHM GER plant ACC.CL2 corn

'From there then people go to the corn field, to plant maize.'

(1117) *dhàlì 'kwāní-n tíyā kí ī ì sī pós, dhàlì yèh*
and people-NAS some NARR go.PL LNK plant sorghum and sow
à pū?
ACC.CL2 sesame (seeds)

'And some people go to plant sorghum, and scatter sesame'

(1118) *kí é ḳőr tō mò tāní à shō'k kí hé'th*
COMP 2SG cultivate:IPFV thing MO PHM CL2 RAIN NARR rain
mŏ tāgà shār sá'bā mò tāní
MO:LOC.CL1 until July MO PHM

'While you are cultivating, it keeps on raining until July'

(1119) *ūshí tō-n tíyā kí mí kí jìm wàs áw̄*
dim:CL1.PL thing-NAS some NARR do COMP REL.POSS tassel or
'ká mò tāní úm kí ī bàŋgàp̱ tāní mò
grow MO PHM 2PL NARR go.PL corn field PHM MO

'and then some little things then start to show up and grow, and then you can go to the corn field'

(1120) *úm kí ḳór ā ḳwáā? 'pén*
2PL NARR cultiavte ACC.CL2 maize behind

'you (can) then cultivate the maize.'

(1121) *ká ḳwáā? cá-'d mò tāní*
COMP:CL2 maize grow:IPFV-3SG MO PHM

'When the maize grows then'

(1122) *é bwà kí 'bór é mò cā-n-ĕ*
2SG stomach.PART COMP good:IPFV 2SG GER grow-NAS-ERG.2SG
ḿmò mísh-ĕ kí t̰é mùr-ù gùs mò
GER know-ERG.2SG COMP hunger will.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS run MO

'you become happy knowing that hunger is going to run away (from you).'

(1123) *gàmà shār sá'bā tāní gòm ánā-m pā tāní*
until:CL2 July PHM for 1PI-NAS village PHM

'until July then for us Uduk'

(1124) *yìl à kāp̲-é kí ʼkōsh ā*
year ASS.CL2 have.enough.food:IPFV-2SG NARR hit:IPFV ERG.CL1
t̲é ʼkwāní gòm tō ʼbár-á'd ì ʼbár mò
hunger people for thing be.finished:IPFV-3SG LNK REDUP MO
ʼpén gù'b
behind house

'the year scares you that people will go hungry, because things will be finished in the house'

(1125) *dhàlì ká k̲ó'bā īs-í'd mò tāní*
and COMP:CL2 maize ripen:IPFV-3SG MO PHM

'And when the maize ripens'

(1126) *wàthí gì īs mā kó'bā t̲wā?ā? à*
person REL.GEN ripen:PFV ERG.CL2 maize first CL2
ʼbóm pí'dī tāní únī kī ūc̲í-m pí'dī
woman POSS.3SG PHM 3PL with:CL1 children-NAS POSS.3SG
ʼbór-á bwà kí ʼbōr
good:IPFV-STV stomach.PART COMP REDUP

'the person whose maize ripens first, his wife and their children become very happy.'

(1127) *únī kí k̲ál ā k̲ó'bā ḿmò mǐ tíyā kā*
3PL NARR carry ACC.CL2 maize GER do:IPFV:AD2 other with:CL2
ŋwánà ŋwánà tí
IDPH REP

'they carry the maize and taunt others saying nyeah nyeah.'

(1128) *ḿmò mǐ tíyā kā ŋwánà ŋwánà tāní*
GER do:IPFV other with:CL2 IDPH PHM

'Taunting (doing) others with nyeah nyeah'

(1129) *kūm mā 'cí kí mí ì bùth à*
mother.POSS.3SG GEN.CL2 child NARR do.AUX LNK catch ACC.CL2
'cí mò, ḿmò ó ká 'cí-m pí'dī mì-nù
child MO GER say COMP:CL2 child-NAS POSS.3SG do:IPFV-IMPRS
mò kā ŋwánà ŋwánà
MO with:CL2 IDPH

'The mother of the child then catches the child, saying that my child had been taunted by (others) showing the maize. (ŋwana ŋwana)'

(1130) *á'dī kí bùth à 'cí dhàlì 'kósh ā 'cí mò*
3SG NARR catch ACC.CL2 child and hit ACC.CL2 child MO
ó kí cí-m tí dǐ-'d
say:IPFV COMP your.father-NAS REP exist.SG:IPFV-3SG-AD2
í máná sī-n ā wàthí jǎn tō bà
where plant:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 man DEM.MED thing PARTICLE

'She catches the child and beats the child saying, "Where was your father, when that man was planting things?" '

(1131) *'péní mán̄ tāní à 'bóm kí shí? bwà*
from:CL1 DEM.MED PHM CL2 woman NARR bad stomach.PART
mò
MO

'from there the mother becomes angry.'

(1132) *dhàlì à 'cí kí kō mò kāgàhárā tāní ḿmò ŋá̱p ā*
and CL2 child NARR cry MO greatly PHM GER want ACC.CL2
k̲ó'bā tāní
maize PHM

'And the child cries bitterly for some maize'

(1133) *à kámú kí bòr à k̲ó'bā dhàlà k̲wáā? t̲wār-ù*
CL2 other NARR grab CL2 maize and:CL2 maize husk:PFV-IMPRS
tāní dhàlì dwàr á'dī cwá 'pén
PHM and insert:PFV 3SG wood behind

'and the other child carries the corn, and the corn is removed, and put behind a tree'

(1134) *à 'cí kí ḵāl 'ká kánsān tāní í ḉá'b*
CL2 child NARR carry eat DEM.ADV.PROX PHM REF keep
t́ó'c tíyā 'kós ì mò jìn lǒ'b ā tíyā
trouble:IPFV others throat LNK MO REL play:IPFV ERG.CL1 other

'The child carries and eats like that, and keeps on bothering the others at the place where others play'

(1135) *bà tō yán sān dǐ-'d í 'kwāním pā*
so thing DEM.PROX exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1 Uduk people

'So this thing happens among the Uduk people'

(1136) *kūm mā 'cí kí wàl à nyòr*
mother.POSS.3SG GEN.CL2 child NARR complain ERG.CL1 anger
mò máñ tāní mí ì sór ā 'cí mò tāní
MO DEM.LOC.MED

'The child's mother will get upset there, will insult the child then'

(1137) *sór jǎn sór ā á'dī 'cí tāní kí sór*
insult.N DEM.MED insult:PFV ERG.CL1 3SG child PHM COMP insult
cōm mā 'cí 'tēbè
father.POSS.3SG GEN.CL2 child PARTICLE

'that insult that she insults the child is for insulting the child's father.'

(1138) *kā tēn tēn tíyā tāní á'dī kí ḵál-í gò shìkkà*
with:CL2 PHM PHM some PHM 3SG NARR carry-AD2 word bad
mò
MO

'For some (time) she can carry bad words.'

(1139) *bà mòn dǐt́ 'bór-á 'bōr gòm 'kwāní wàḵká ḵó'bā*
so winter good:IPFV-STV REDUP for people if:CL2 maize
mí-n ì wàs mò tāní
do.AUX:PFV-NAS LNK tassel MO PHM

'so the winter was very good for people if the maize ripens'

(1140) *'Dī jìn yùk̲-ù kí dǎsí kí āk̲ jàs*
bird REL call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP cordonbleu NARR change color
ē mò únī kā 'cīsíny'cīs
eye.PART MO 3PL with:CL2 red bishop

'The bird which is called a cordonbleu then starts to change its colour with the red bishop.'

(1141) *dǎsí á'dī kí āk̲ jàs ē mò í tāní, á'dī*
cordonbleu 3SG NARR change color eye.PART MO IPHM PHM 3SG
kí tā-m̀ 'pér mò tāní
NARR COP-GEN.CL1 red:IPFV MO PHM

'The cordonbleu it starts to change its colour then, it become red.'

(1142) *tā gǎwùl mò tāní á'dī kí p̲é mò*
COP:PFV fish eagle MO PHM 3SG NARR fly MO

'It's the fish eagle then, and it flies away.'

(1143) *kí āk̲ jàs ē mò tāní gwày pí'dī kí*
COMP change:PFV color eye.PART MO PHM name POSS.3SG NARR
dì kī shē? mò
exist.SG with:CL1 tooth MO

'when it changes colour then its song also is different.'

(1144) *ánā kí mísh gò 'bān ká*
1PI NARR know message.PARTtemple COMP.CL2 maize
k̲wáā? īs-í'd mò tāní ánā kí 'ká k̲ó'bā
ripen:IPFV-3SG MO PHM 1PI NARR eat maize MO
mò

'We know that the maize has ripened and we can eat the maize.'

(1145) *dhàlì kí é k̲ór bùntō mò tāní mòŋ 'kúc̲ū*
and COMP 2SG cultivate:PFV field MO PHM autumn

'And when you cultivate the field in the autum'

(1146) *ánā tā-nà gì tōn̲té jìn sī-n ā ánā*
1PI COP:PFV-1PI OF food REL plant:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 1PI
tā-n ā rìs
COP:PFV-3PL ACC.CL2 many

'we have many types of food which we plant.'

(1147) *'kwāní sí-n ā 'kāsh 'péná*
people plant:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 type.of.vegetable from:CL2
cīlé?
kash.seed

'People plant *kash* from *cile* seeds'

(1148) *dhàlì 'kwāní kí shwá tō-ny 'cúr ḿmò shwá pū jìn*
and people NARR eat thing-NAS mix GER eat sesame REL
yù̲k-kù ká ḉámbàlé?
call-IMPRS COMP:CL2 sesame.husk

'And people then eat something mixed, eating sesame which is called *ḉambale*.'

(1149) *wà̲kkí 'kwāní k̲ór-ón ā pū, à rǐs*
if:CL1 people cultivate:PFV-3PL ACC.CL2 sesame, CL2 many:AUG
tō gwǎn sān tá tō gŭn mì-n à
thing DEM.PL.ANPH COP:IPFV thing REL.PL do:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1
'kwāním pā 'bár mò
Uduk people all:IPFV MO

'If people cultivate seseme, many of these things are things which all the Uduk people do.'

(1150) *bà ārí gò ā 'dánsān gì ŋà̲p-kà*
so dim:SING word IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL.GEN want:IPFV-ERG.1SG
kār
set.down

'so this is a little message that i wanted to put here'

(1151) *ánā kí dòsh í másān thanks*
1PI NARR stop LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.PROX thanks

'We then can stop here thanks.'

C.8 The porcupine and the unknown man

by Tidawos and Samuel, recorded in 2013

(1152) *wàthí gì ʼkósh súm dhàl yáp̲*
man REL.GEN kill:PFV python and porcupine

'A person who killed a porcupine and python.'

(1153) *áhā tēn tā-ná gà ārí gò lòlòp̲ à ké*
1SG PHM COP:PFV-1SG GEN.CL2 DIM:CL1 story ASS.CL2 other

'I have another small story'

(1154) *jìn wàthí yùk̲ ká Álàʔ, ɛ̄ mò jìn*
REL man call:IPFV:IMPRS COMP:CL2 Ala DUR.LOC place REL
ʼkó-n-ámm̄ í mò mà k̲éèm(camp),
exist.PL:PFV-NAS-ERG.1PI LOC.CL1 place GEN.CL2 camp,
mò mà làjèè Bŏngà í Gàmbĕllà
place GEN.CL2 camp Bonga LOC.CL1 Gambella

'It is about a person called Ala at the place that we sat at Bonga in Gambella.'

(1155) *áʼdī tēní yà mò-m pár tēní, áʼdī tēní kí yà tēní yà*
3SG PHM go.SG place-ASS hunt PHM 3SG PHM NARR go PHM go
gàm yáp̲
find porcupine

'He went to hunt, he went to find a porcupine'

(1156) *áw̄ t̲wāʔāʔ tēn áʼdī tēn yă-ʼd-ī gàm súm ítēní*
or first PHM 3SG PHM go.SG:IPFV-3SG-LNK find python PHM

'or first he went and found a python'

(1157) *únī tēn kí ʼkósh súm mò ítēní, dhàlì únī tēní kál*
3PL PHM NARR kill python MO PHM and 3PL PHM carry
súm tēn í pūr tíbà
python PHM LOC.CL1 roast TIBA

‘they killed the python then, and they took the python and roasted it to remove the scales (with the fire).’

(1158) *mèʼd súm tēn ʼkósh-ù tēn yǐsâ wǔ-ʼd kí*
as python PHM kill:PFV-IMPRS PHM NEG die:PFV-3SG COMP
jàhànè = yà
quickly = NEG

‘The python was beaten but it did not die quickly.’

(1159) *únī kí ḳál súm í tēn pūr mò únī kā*
3PL NARR carry python IPHM PHM roast MO 3PL with:CL2
múŋ̄ké? ʼkó-n = í sú?
another.friend exist.PL:PFV-3PL = COLL two

‘They carried the python to roast it to remove the scales, he and one other friend, the two of them’

(1160) *kéé tān únī kí ʼthá dhàn ōʼd ì cél ōʼd dhàn c̣íŋkírá?*
other PHM 3PL NARR light large fire LNK blaze fire great sticks

‘The other, they lit a very big fire with (some small) sticks.’

(1161) *dhàl únī tēn kí bùth̲ súm mèʼd*
and 3PL PHM NARR grasp python hand

‘And they then caught the python with their hands’

(1162) *gòm súm tēn ūs, c̣ēkēr ōʼd c̣éñ ʼbár mò*
for python PHM extinguish scatter fire inside completely MO

‘for the python was rolling around and scattering all of the fire’

(1163) *únī kí pūr súm í-tēní*
3PL NARR roast python REF-PHM

'they then removed python by fire'

(1164) *súm tēn kí mí dhàn mò-m ʼbíʼth ítēn í*
python PHM NARR do.AUX big place-ASS strong PHM LOC.CL1
dìr únī súʔ gŭm cwá-á ōʼd ì
pull:PFV 3PL two DEM.MED.PL wood-LOC.CL1 fire LNK
ʼbár mò
completely MO

'The python did a big place of strength to pull the two of them to the wood of the fire so completely'

(1165) *bèl-kú-nù mò ōʼd í móʼdōn,*
push:PFV-AD1-IMPRS MO fire LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.MED

'pulling them into the fire there'

(1166) *únī kí ī rěm ā bòr sădhù ʼtéʔ ōʼd í*
3PL NARR go.PL bounce ACC.CL2 chest fix just fire LOC.CL1
móʼdón rìbkḗ
DEM.LOC.MED chest.bounce

'They went and hit their chests there in the fire'

(1167) *dhàlì kā tēntēŋ kéé dŏ̱k ē tēní áʼdī kí dŏ̱k ē dŏ̱k*
and with:CL2 day some again PHM 3SG NARR again return
cáshō mò tēní
bush MO PHM

'And at another time, he went to the bush again'

(1168) *áʼdī tēn kí yà-á tēn yà yà dhàn jùs yá̱p mò*
3SG PHM NARR go-IPHM PHM go go big hole porcupine MO

'he went and entered the porcupine's hole'

(1169) *mè'd yáp ítēn únī mí jùs 'cēm jùs í*
as porcupline PHM 3PL make hole begin hole LOC.CL1
múm tēní únī kí mí jùs kí wǎ-n
DEM.LOC.ANPH PHM 3PL NARR do hole COMP resemble:IPFV-NAS
ā ē kí dhǎn gù'b káyē
ERG.CL1 eye.PART COMP great.PL house DEM.ADV.PROX2

'As the porcupine, when they make their holes, they make the inner hole look like a house like this.'

(1170) *á'dī tēn kí yà ítēní, jùs í múm tēní, á'dī*
3SG PHM NARR go PHM hole LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH PHM 3SG
kí yà dì kā jìmís káhē ḉá à
NARR go exist.SG with:CL2 upright DEM.ADV.PROX2 sit:PFV LNK
'kósh yáp
kill porcupine

'When he went to the hole, he went and stood upright like this and kept on beating the porcupine.'

(1171) *dhàlì 'pén mò jǎm 'kósh-ā'dī yáp*
and from place DEM.MED beat:PFV-ERG.3SG porcupine
ítēní, wàthí tēní, wàthí-ŋ kéé kí wàl á'dī à
PHM person PHM person-ASS other NARR talk 3SG CL2
t̲ōr í cīné?
discuss.CL2.ERG LOC.CL1 inside

'And from that place he was beating the porcupine, the man, another man was speaking to him.'

(1172) *ó kí: 'É tēní dàk̲-ì tō 'kósh mò!'*
say:PFV COMP: 2SG PHM stop-IMPER thing kill MO

'Saying, "You! Stop beating him (the porcupine)!" '

(1173) *dhàlì wàthí yán wàl á'dī-yā t̲ōr í cīné tēní*
and man DEM.PROX talk 3SG-SER talk:PFV LOC.CL1 inside PHM
yǐsā̀,
NEG

'And this man (who) spoke to him was not inside'

(1174) *wàl á'dī 'twā á cīné yǐsâ mìsh-ă'dī*
talk 3SG mouth.PART LOC.CL2 inside NEG know:IPFV-ERG.3SG
tíyā?
others

'The one speaking to him was not inside, who talked to him was not known.'

(1175) *á'dī tēn cíh dàsì 'twā? gì wàl à wàthí*
3SG PHM hear:IPFV only mouth GEN.CL1 talk:PFV ERG.CL1 person
kéñ
DEM.ADV.PROX

'He heard only the voice that the man spoke like this.'

(1176) *dhàlì wàthí yǐsâ mìsh-ă'dī kī ē yǐsâ*
and man NEG know:IPFV-ERG.3SG with:CL1 eye.PART NEG

'And the man was not known by him (by sight).'

(1177) *í mó-n tēn kí á'dī tēn 'kósh yáp̲ í*
LOC.CL1 place-ASS PHM COMP 3SG PHM kill:PFV porcupine IPHM
tēní, á'dī tēn kí pī mò kā píc̲ē?
PHM 3SG PHM NARR leave MO with:CL2 outside

'In this place he then continued to beat the porcupines, and then he left outside'

(1178) The same story continued by Samuel

thábàn tāntāní à gò lòlòp̲ gòm 'kwāním pānà tāntāní
of course PHM CL2 story for our people PHM

'As the story for our people then'

(1179) *'kwāním pānà ó gò kí yáp̲ í tāntāní,*
our people say:PFV message.PART COMP porcupine IPHM PHM

'Our people talk about the porcupine'

(1180) *bà yáp̲ wàk̲kí gàm-é? ʼkó-n=í*
so porcupine if:CL1 find:PFV-ERG.CL1:2SG exist.PL:PFV-3PL=COLL
síthā wàlà hámsā í jìs í má'dān tān
six or five LOC.CL1 hole LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM

'That if you find porcupines, like six or five, in the hole there then'

(1181) *bà thá'bàn wàk̲kí ŋàp̲-é? nê*
so of course if:CL1 want:IPFV-ERG.2SG do.AUX:IPFV:ERG.2SG:LNK
ʼkósh mè'd kwārā wàlà sú? tāntāní,
kill like three or two PHM

'You can kill two or three'

(1182) *é kí dhàl-kú kū-n tíyā mò*
2SG NARR let-ITV DEF.GEN.PL-ASS other MO

'(and) you then leave the other ones.'

(1183) *bà yǐsā mǐ-n-é-è mí ʼkósh-í ʼbár*
so NEG do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-NAS-ERG.2SG-AD2 do.AUX kill-AD2 all
tíyā
others

'So you shouldn't kill them all'

(1184) *bà wàk̲kí mǐ-n-é-è mì ʼkósh-í ʼbár*
so if:CL1 do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-NAS-ERG.2SG-LNK do.AUX hit-AD2 all
mò tāntāní
MO PHM

'If you kill them all then'

(1185) *é mí-n ì mí ì gàm mí-n tíyā mò wărī*
2SG do.AUX-2SG LNK do.AUX LNK find do-ASS other MO maybe
í má'dān
LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.MED

'Perhaps you end up finding something else there'

(1186) *mè'd mí yán gǎm-ānà kí dòr-ù à*
as do DEM.PROX find:IPFV-ERG.1PI COMP beat:IPFV-IMPRS CL2
Álà kī tō tān tí
Ala with:CL1 thing PHM QUOT

'As (in) this situation, we had found (out) that Ala had been beaten with something (so we heard).'

(1187) *bà à rís tō kūn mí-n ì mò-ŋ*
so CL2 many thing REL.PL do:PFV-3PL LNK place-ASS
'kō-n-ánā ā nán kánsān
exist.PL:IPFV-NAS-ERG.1PI IDENT DEM.VB.PL DEM.ADV.PROX

'So these are many things that happen where we live like this.'

(1188) *bà tā gò lòlòp̲ ā 'dán gòm yáp̲*
so COP:PFV story IDENT DEM.VB.PROX about porcupine

'So here was a story about a porcupine'

C.9 Fleeing from Itang to Nasir

by Tidawos, recorded in 2013

(1189) *áhā* *tā-ná* *gì* *lòlòp̱* *'pénî* *ēmbŭl* *jìn*
1SG COP:PFV-1SG GEN.CL1 story from:CL1 time REL
í-n-ánā *'pénî* *Íṭāŋ* *só-n*
go.PL:IPFV-NAS-ERG.CL1:1PI from:CL1 Itang run.PL:IPFV-NAS
ā *'kwāní* *'pénî* *Íṭāŋ* *mòn dĭṭ*
ERG.CL1 people from:CL1 Itang monsoon season

'I have a story from the time when we fled from Itang, people were fleeing from Itang in the monsoon season'

(1190) *so* *cwáā* *Násīr* *kā* *1991,* *kí* *ēmbŭl*
so[English] to Nasir with:CL2 1991[English], COMP time
yám *jìn* *só-n-ánā* *'pénî* *Íṭāŋ* *ì*
DEM.PROX REL run.PL:IPFV-NAS-ERG.CL1:1PI from:CL1 Itang LNK
sō *cwáā* *Násīr*
run to Nasir

'So, (it was on the way) to Nasir in 1991, (it was) at this time when people fled from Itang and ran to Nasir'

(1191) *ĕ* *ēmbŭl* *jăn* *'kwāní* *só-n* *mòn dĭṭ* *dhàlì*
DUR.LOC time DEM.MED people run:IPFV-3PL monsoon and
kī *ēmbŭl* *jăn* *tānî* *mò* *sō* *jìn* *só-nù*
with:CL1 time DEM.MED PHM MO run REL run.PL:IPFV-IMPRS
tānî
PHM

'during that time, people were fleeing in the monsoon season, and at that time was the time of running, when running took place'

(1192) *thábàn* *mò* *ī* *jìn* *í-nù* *'pénî* *Íṭāŋ* *tānî*
of course MO go.PL REL go.PL:IPFV-IMPRS from:CL1 Itang PHM
'kwāní *tānî* *í-n* *ĕ* *cém* *yì'dé,* *mò-ŋ*
people PHM go.PL:IPFV-3PL DUR.LOC inside water place-ASS
k̲ūthū'd *yĭsâ* *dĭ-'d* *yĭsâ*
dry NEG exist.SG:IPFV-3SG NEG

'so coming from Itang, people had to walk through water, there was no dry land.'

(1193) *ūp̲ ā ká bìt̲-ín í jìs tānì à jùs*
women ASS.CL2 some fall:IPFV-3PL LOC.CL1 hole PHM CL2 hole
kí lós úní tāgì dhăn pā'd ńnīī
NARR swallow 3PL until waist DEM.LOC.ANPH.DIST

'Some women fell in a hole, and the hole swallowed them up to their waist there'

(1194) *dhàlì únī yĭsā kí gàdhìr ńmò bùk̲ īs bŭnī*
and 3PL NEG NARR manage GER extract body.REFL POSS.3PL
yĭsā
NEG

'and they could not manage to extract themselves'

(1195) *wàthí-ŋ ké kí yà-yú dhàlì bŭ? á'dī 'péná*
person-ASS some NARR go.SG-VENT and extract:PFV 3SG from:CL2
jè kī ēmbŭl jìn í-nù nín tānì
mud with time REL go.PL:IPFV-IMPRS DEM.LOC.ITV PHM

'Someone came and removed her from the mud, at the time when people were walking'

(1196) *thábàn ārí à 'cí jìn dàhà dhŏth ā*
of course small CL2 infant REL newborn bear:IPFV ERG.CL1
kūm tānì
mother.POSS.3SG PHM

'Then a small infant who was recently born by her mother'

(1197) *k̲ál-ù ká núrà kí dàhà dhŏth ā*
take:PFV-IMPRS by:CL2 basket COMP newborn bear:IPFV ERG.CL1
kūm á'dī tēn kūm í tānì
mother.POSS.3SG 3SG PHM mother.POSS.3SG REF PHM
yă-n ā 'bāshō yà wú ē mò ńmò
go:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 leg go die eye.PART MO GER
yă yì'dé
go:LOC.CL1 water

'was put into a basket, when the infant was just born by her mother, her mother's feet had become exhausted to walk through the water.'

(1198) *kūm tānì kí ’bár mò yì’dé? dhàlì ārí à*
mother.POSS.3SG PHM NARR complete MO water and small CL2
’cí cǎn kí bǐt̪ mò yì’dé? dhàlì yì’dé? dhàlì yì’dé
child DEM.MED NARR fall MO water and water and water
yǐsâ
NEG

‘her mother then fell in the water and that small child fell in the water, and the water did not’

(1199) *mǐ á’dī tō-ŋ ké yǐsâ, ’kwānì kí ’cwām á’dī*
do:IPFV:AD2 3SG thing-ASS some NEG people NARR pick.up 3SG
tānì c̪í-kí kūm tānì í k̪ál-á
PHM give-AD1 mother.POSS.3SG PHM REF take:PFV-LOC.CL2
núrà kí ēmbŭl jìn í-n-ámn̄ bèské
basket LOC.CL1 time REL go.PL:IPFV-NAS-ERG.1PE BESENE

‘do anything to her, people picked her up and gave to the mother then to carry her in the basket during the time we were walking’

(1200) *ḿmò ’kó mò Násīr tānì í ārí mò yùk̪-ù*
GER stay.PL MO Nasir PHM LOC.CL1 small place call:IPFV-IMPRS
kí Nôr, í Nôr tānì ámn̄ kí ’cíth ā gàp̪
COMP Nor, LOC.CL1 Nor PHM 1PE NARR cross ACC.CL2 river
mò tānì
MO PHM

‘in order to stay in Nasir, and in a small place called Nor, at Nor we crossed the river then’

(1201) *’kó ārí mò jìn yùk̪-ù kí Násīr dhàlì*
stay.PL:PFV small place REL call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Nasir and
bèské tānì ’kwānì kí ēmbŭl jìn í-n-ámn̄
BESENE PHM people COMP time REL go.PL:IPFV-NAS-ERG.1PE
bèské ḿmò ’kó mò Násīr tānì
BESENE GER stay.PL MO Nasir PHM

‘to stay in a small place called Nasir and people at this time which we walked to get to Nasir then’

(1202) *í ārí mò yùk̲-ù kí Násīr tānî 'kwānî*
LOC.CL1 small place call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Nasir PHM people
kí ēmbŭl jăn tānî
COMP time DEM.MED PHM

'in a small place called Nasir, people at that time'

(1203) *'kwānî yĭsà tā gì tōnt̲é? jìn shwā-n-ūnī*
people NEG COP:PFV GEN.CL1 food REL eat:IPFV-NAS-ERG.3PL
yĭsà
NEG

'people didn't have food to eat'

(1204) *tā ēmbŭl jìn 'bíth-á 'bīth kāgàhárā dhàlì ám̄ tānî*
COP:PFV time REL hard-STV REDUP very and 1PE PHM

'it was a very hard time and we then,'

(1205) *dhàlì bàbă-m bă̄m tānî á'dī kí sús-ám̄ ḿmò c̣á*
and father-ASS POSS.1PE PHM 3SG NARR lead-1PE GER sit.SG
à 'kósh wà'c á bìl
LNK kill fish LOC.CL2 water

'our father then he took us to fish in a pool of stagnant water'

(1206) *mè'd pā-n dhămkín pā Násīr tānî yì'dé? tēnî cā-á*
like village-ASS Nuer village Nasir PHM water PHM big-STV
cā
REDUP

'like the Nuer town, the town of Nasir, the river was huge'

(1207) *dhàlì wà'c í tānî shúm-ù kā k̲ūk̲á'b ám̄*
and fish REF PHM spear:IPFV-IMPRS with:CL2 hooked.spear 1PE
í-ná à thám wà'c kā k̲ūk̲á'b
go.PL:IPFV-1PE LNK spear fish with:CL2 hooked.spear

'and fish were speared by spear, we went to spear the fish with spears.'

(1208) *ʼkwāní kā rìs tēní thám wà'c ám̄ ʼkōsh-á wà'c*
people with:CL2 many PHM spear:PFV fish 1PE kill:IPFV-1PE fish

'many people then speared the fish, we killed (some) fish'

(1209) *dhàlà bàbă-m bă̄m tāní á'dī tēní á'dī kí ʼkósh*
and:CL2 father-ASS POSS.1PE PHM 3SG PHM 3SG NARR kill
ā yĕ'd mò
ACC.CL2 monitor.lizard MO

'and our father, he killed a moniter lizard.'

(1210) *dhàlà yĕ'd tāní ʼkósh ā á'dī jàw mò tāní*
and:CL2 monitor.lizard PHM kill:IPFV ERG.CL1 3SG dead MO PHM

'and the monitor lizard was killed by him'

(1211) *á'dī kí k̲ál mò-ó cém mā ç̲ís ēmbŭl jăn*
3SG NARR take MO-LOC.CL1 inside GEN.CL2 bag time DEM.MED
tāní ám̄ kí ç̲ā ì ʼkósh wà'c mò
PHM 1PE NARR stay.SG LNK kill fish MO

'and he carried it inside the bag while we were fishing'

(1212) *dhàlì yĕ'd í tāní ō-n-ám̄ kí*
and monitor.lizard REF PHM say:IPFV-NAS-ERG.1PE COMP
wŭ-k-ú'd mò tāní dhàlì ká yĕ'd yĭsā
die:PFV-AD1-3SG MO PHM and COMP:CL2 monitor.lizard NEG
wŭ-k-ú'd yĭsā̂
die:PFV-AD1-3SG NEG

'and the monitor lizard we thought that it was dead, but the monitor lizard had not died.'

(1213) *à yĕ'd kí mí ì p̲ē-yú ʼpéní ʼbā*
CL2 monitor.lizard NARR do.AUX LNK jump-VENT from:CL1 neck
á'dī mún tāní
3SG DEM.LOC.ANPH PHM

'the monitor lizard ended up jumping from his neck there'

(1214) *'tā'b ā á'dī kī mè'd tāní à yě'd kí*
try:IPFV ERG.CL1 3SG with hand PHM CL2 monitor.lizard NARR
p̲ē-è bǐt̲ mò yì'dé? tāní
jump LNK fall MO water

'he tried to catch the monitor lizard, but the monitor lizard jumped and fell in the water'

(1215) *ám̄ kí gàm à yě'd yǐsà̄ ám̄ tāní kí*
1PE NARR get ACC.CL2 monitor.lizard NEG 1PE PHM NARR
ŋá mò ká yě'd kī ēmbŭl yán
leave.behind MO COMP:CL2 monitor.lizard with time DEM.PROX
tāní
PHM

'we didn't get the monitor lizard, we left the monitor lizard behind at this time'

(1216) *kā 'thá tāní ám̄ kí ī mò ī mò jìn*
with.CL2 morning PHM 1PE NARR go.PL MO go.PL PL place
'kósh-ù wà'c kā gŏrā
REL kill:PFV-IMPRS fish with:CL2

'in the morning we went to a place where people were fishing with goras.'

(1217) *gòm wàk̲kí é 'té-n ā bwà yà*
for if 2SG not.want:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 stomach.PART go
thám wà'c kā k̲ūk̲á'b tāní é kí yà mò gŏr
spear fish with:CL2 hooked.spear PHM 2SG NARR go MO angle
wà'c kā gŏrā?
fish with gora

'Because if you don't want to spear fish with spears then you can go to fish with goras'

(1218) *á kī ēmbŭl jăn tāní 'kwāní tāní 'kŏsh wà'c*
IDENT with time DEM.MED PHM people PHM kill:IPFV fish
'kŏsh wà'c
kill:IPFV fish

'At this time people were killing fish'

(1219) *dhàlì dhămkín gŭmsēm 'pénî ī-kám bănā gŭm*
and Nuer DEM.MED.PL from PL-brother 1PI DEM.ANPH.PL
Nùwêr ísān únī kí ī-yú
Nuer DEM.LOC.PREC 3PL NARR go.PL-VENT

'and these Nuer behind (those) our brothers the Nuer here they came'

(1220) *kī ēmbŭl ā ké tānî ŋa̱p-ín tānî ḿmò k̲ál*
with time ASS.CL2 some PHM want:IPFV-3PL PHM GER take
wà'c tíbà 'pénî wàthí-ŋ kámú mó'dōn
fish TIBA from person-ASS other DEM.LOC.MED

'at this time they wanted to take the fish from another person there'

(1221) *dhàlì wàthí kí nón á'dī kí wà'c tānî únī kí 'kósh*
and person NARR refuse 3SG COMP fish PHM 3PL NARR killPFV
wàthí-ŋ ké jàw mò kī ō'd
person-ASS some dead MO with fire

'and the person refused (to give) him the fish, so they killed another man with a gun'

(1222) *kī ēmbŭl jăn yìl jăn ēmbŭl jăn yĭsâ*
with time DEM.MED year DEM.MED time DEM.MED NEG
'bór-ó'd gòm ánā yĭsâ yà, tā ēmbŭl jìn
good:IPFV-3SG for 1PI NEG NEG COP:PFV time REL
tā-'d ā sâ'b kāgàhárā
COP:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 bad very

'At that time, that year, that time was not good for us, it was a time which was very bad.'

(1223) *dhàlì tōn̲té? yĭsâ dì-'d yĭsâ yà dhàlì ám̄, ánā dŏk̲ ē*
and FOOD NEG exist.SG:PFV-3SG NEG NEG and 1PE 1PI again
kí ī mò c̣wăny ā sē'd
NARR go.PL MO dig ACC.CL2 wild.potato

'And there was no food so we then went to dig up wild potatoes'

(1224) *á sē'd í tāní í-nù à màsábà*
LOC.CL2 wild.potato REF PHM go.PL:IPFV-IMPRS CL2 distance
mà sáà súʔ wàc̀bàʔ ḿmò ī k̲wăny dhàlì ám̄ kí
GEN.CL2 hour two maybe GER go.PL dig and 1PE NARR
ī ì gàm à dhàm
go.PL LNK get ACC.CL2 honey

'for wild potatoes (people) went a distance of two hours maybe for digging, and we (meanwhile) went to find honey.'

(1225) *dhàlì à dhàm í tāntāní thábàn dhŏth-ó'd í*
and CL2 honey IPHM PHM of course breed:IPFV-3SG AD2
dhàn mís í ńnī̄ dhàlì cwá kūn
great up LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH.DIST and tree REL.PL
lūʔ-ún
sprout:IPFV-3PL

'Bees were swarming on a great one up there, trees which were growing their leaves.'

(1226) *'péní káā tāní únī tāní k̲ūth-ún mò*
from DEM.ADV.PROX PHM 3PL PHM dry:IPFV-3PL MO

'Then they dried'

(1227) *à múīŋ kámú sé mís yùk̲-kù ká*
CL2 friend another climb:PFV up call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP:CL2
Kwát̲ā sé mís tāní lŏl ā dhàm
Kwata climb:PFV up PHM collect ACC.CL2 honey

'One friend called Kwata climbed up the tree to collect honey'

(1228) *dhàlì á'dī yĭsâ mìsh mò kí ō'd yĭsâ shwā-'d-à, 'péní*
and 3SG NEG know MO COMP fire NEG burn:IPFV-3SG-NEG, from
móñ tāní únī kí mí ì thám ō'd mí
DEM.LOC.MED PHM 3PL NARR do.AUX LNK do.bad fire do.PART

'and he did not know that a fire was burning, from there they did the fire bad'

(1229) *tāní ō'd kí mí ì shwá 'cémēn cwá mò tāní kí*
PHM fire NARR do.AUX:PFV LNK burn leaf tree MO PHM COMP
á'dī tēní dì-yí-'d 'té mís ínnūī
3SG PHM exist.SG:PFV-AD2-3SG just up DEM.LOC.ANPH.DIST
bè
PARTICLE

'The fire burned the leaves of the tree while he was still up there (in the tree)'

(1230) *ō'd kí shwá-kú 'pén kā 'césh dhàlì mí jìn*
fire NARR burn-ITV from with:CL2 ground and do REL
mì-n à á'dī mí yǐsà dǐ-'d-à
do.AUX:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 3SG do NEG exist.SG:IPFV-3SG-NEG

'the fire burned was burning from the ground and there was nothing he could do.'

(1231) *dhàlì á'dī kí ḳál-í dhàn ō'd jǎn kí īs*
and 3SG NARR take-AD2 great fire DEM.MED COMP body.PART
tāní á'dī kí pósh-ú mò
PHM 3SG NARR jump-VENT MO

'and he then forced his way out of the fire and he jumped down.'

(1232) *ō'd í tāní kí pūr á'dī à jìbbà 'bár mò tāní*
fire REF PHM NARR burn 3SG CL2 clothes completely MO PHM

'the fire burned his clothes all'

(1233) *á'dī kí ḳál ō'd kī īs tāní á'dī kí yà*
3SG NARR take fire with:CL1 body.PART PHM 3SG NARR go
yé mò ká'dān tān
escape MO DEM.ADV.MED PHM

'he then forced his way out and he was able to escape like that.'

(1234) *á'dī tā gò lòlòp̣ ā 'dán*
3SG COP:PFV story IDENT DEM.VB.MED

'This was the story.'

C.10 How to build a house

by Yasir, recorded in 2011

(1235) *bwày gì nyàŋ à 'kwāní-m-pā gù'b*
way REL.GEN build:PFV ERG.CL1 people-ASS-home house

'How to build an Uduk house'

(1236) *wàthí-m-pā kí á'dī mùr-ú'd ì nyáŋ gù'b*
person-ASS-home COMP 3SG will.AUX:IPFV-3SG LNK build house
í tānī
IPHM PHM

'An Uduk person, when he is going to build a house'

(1237) *í-t̲wā?ā? á'dī kí yà ḿmò jɛ̆p̲ ā k̲ár 'kús gù'b*
PREP-first 3SG NARR go.SG GER cut ACC.CL2 forked poles house

'First he goes to cut forked poles for the house'

(1238) *wăk̲kí á'dī jɛ̀p̲-é'd ā k̲ár 'kús mò tānī*
COND 3SG cut:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 forked poles MO PHM

'When he cuts the forked poles for the house'

(1239) *yán 'kō'd á'dī kí yà bwày mò-m 'púny ā*
DEM.PROX after 3SG NARR go.SG to place-ASS cut ACC.CL2
rìhàny bèskénē?
grass BESENE

'after this he goes to the place of cutting thatch then'

(1240) *á'dī kí yà 'púny ā rìhàny mò tānī*
3SG NARR go.SG cut ACC.CL2 grass MO PHM

'he goes to cut the thatch'

(1241) *ká rìhàny thím-á'dī 'púny mò tānī yán 'kō'd*
COMP:CL2 thatch finish-ERG.3SG cut MO PHM DEM.PROX after
dǒk̲ ē
again

'when he finishes cutting the thatch, after this again'

(1242) *á'dī kí yà bwày mò k̲ā'dúm m̀mò jěp̲ ā k̲ā'dúm*
3SG NARR go.SG WAY place kadum GER cut ACC.CL2 kadum
cwá
tree

'he goes out to the place of the kadum, to cut some kadum branches'

(1243) *dhàlì ká k̲ā'dúm jěp̲ ā á'dī mò tānī*
and.CL1 COMP:CL2 kadum cut:PFV ERG.CL1 3SG MO PHM

'And when the kadum has been cut by him then'

(1244) *á'dī kí dhù-yú? á 'césh gòm à cím sú?*
3SG NARR leave-VENT LOC.CL2 ground for CL2 day two

'he leaves (them) (in the other place) on the ground for two days'

(1245) *dhàl á'dī kí dòk̲ bèsénē? m̀mò yà pūr-ú?*
and 3SG NARR return BESENE GER go.SG heat-VENT

'and he then returns in order to go heat (it) (in the other place)'

(1246) *gòm wǎk̲kí mì-n-á'dī pūr kā cím ā 'dé?*
because if do.AUX:IPFV-ERG.3SG heat with.CL2 day CL2 one
tānī
PHM

'Because if he were to heat (the kadum) with (after) one day'

(1247) *á'dī kí 'cēd mò kí jàhànè*
3SG NARR break MO COMP quickly

'it breaks very quickly'

(1248) *gòm kán jàn 'kwāní kí jɛ̰p ā ka̰'dúm*
for DEM.ADV.PROX DEM.MED people NARR cut ACC.CL2 kadum

'So therefore people then cut the kadum'

(1249) *ḿmò c̰ī yā cím súʔ á 'césh*
GER give ACC.CL2 day two LOC.CL2 ground

'giving two days on the ground'

(1250) *dhàlì ī pūr īs bèsénēʔ kí á'dī 'ká'd*
and go.PL:PFV heat body.PART BESENE COMP 3SG open:PFV
mā téntēʔ mò
ERG.CL2 sun MO

'and go heat the wood, and it is opened by the sun'

(1251) *á'dī kí mísh t̰ōʔ mò kí 'bōr'bōr dhàlì kí*
3SG NARR able straighten MO COMP good.ADV and COMP
yàp̰yàp̰
fast.ADV

'it is able to become straightened very well and very fast'

(1252) *ká ka̰'dúm jɛ̰p̰-ún-ù mò tānī*
COMP:CL2 kadum cut:PFV-AD2-IMPRS MO PHM

'When the kadum is cut (in the other place)'

(1253) *wàthíʔ kí yà mò dǒk̰ ē ḿmò yà 'káwúr gù'b bèskénēʔ*
person NARR go.SG MO again GER go.SG design house BESENE

'a person goes again in order to go design the house'

(1254) *kí á'dī 'káwúr gù'b mò tānī á'dī kí k̲wány jìs*
COMP 3SG design:PFV house MO PHM 3SG NARR dig hole
gù'b mò
house MO

'After he designs the house then he digs holes for the house'

(1255) *á'dī kí k̲wány jìs gù'b ì thím mò*
3SG NARR dig hole house LNK finish MO

'he then finishes digging the holes of the house'

(1256) *yán 'kō'd á'dī kí thúm ā k̲ár 'kús cwá mò*
DEM.PROX after 3SG NARR insert ACC.CL2 forked pole tree MO
í jìs
PREP hole

'After that he inserts the forked poles of the tree branch into the holes'

(1257) *á'dī kí thúm ā k̲ár 'kús cwá mò jìs tānī*
3SG NARR insert ACC.CL2 forked pole tree MO hole PHM

'he puts the forked poles of the tree branch in the hole'

(1258) *á'dī kí p̲ār 'kúp̲ mò bèsénē?*
3SG NARR even out head.PART MO BESENE

'he evens them out'

(1259) *yán 'kō'd í má'dān bèsénē? tānī á'dī kí*
DEM.PROX after LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.MED then PHM 3SG NARR
yà mò tān ḿmò jěp̲-í jàhà?
go.SG MO then GER cut-AD2 jaha

'Afterwards (there) then he goes to cut jaha'

(1260) *dhàlì jàhà? mùr-ù jɛ̰p-ú? kā cím jă'dān*
and jaha will.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS cut-VENT on.CL2 day DEM.PROX

'And the jaha should be cut within that day'

(1261) *únī kī á tō jìn yŭk̰-ù kí gòròsh*
3PL with.CL1 name thing REL call:PFV-IMPRS COMP gorosh

'along with something which is called gorosh'

(1262) *à gòròsh únī kī jàhà mùr-ù jɛ̰p-ú?*
CL2 gorosh 3PL with.CL1 jaha will.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS cut-VENT
kā cím-ā 'dé?
on.CL2 day-INDV one

'The gorosh and jaha should be cut within one day'

(1263) *ì nyàk̰ká gàŋgàrà?*
LNK along with.CL2 gangara

'Along with the gangara'

(1264) *dhàlì tō jì-n ṭwā?ā? jìn í-nù jɛ̰p í*
and thing DEF.GEN.SG-ASS first REL go.PL:IPFV-IMPRS cut IPHM
tān tā-'d ā gàŋgàrà?
PHM COP-3SG ACC.CL2 gangara

'And the first thing which is gone to be cut then is the gangara'

(1265) *à gàŋgàrà? mùr-ù jɛ̰p-ú?*
CL2 gangara will.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS cut-VENT

'The gangara should be cut'

(1266) *ká gàŋgàrà? jɛ̰p-ún-ù mò tān*
COMP:CL2 gangara cut:PFV-AD2-IMPRS MO PHM

'When the gangara is cut (in the other place) then'

(1267) *ūp̲ kí ī bèskénē? ḿmò ī ḳ́ál-ú?*
women NARR go.PL BESENE GER go.PL bring-VENT

‘women go, going to bring them back’

(1268) *kí ḳ́ál-í-n ā ūp̲ mò pā tānî*
COMP bring:PFV-AD2-NAS ERG.CL1 women MO home PHM

‘When women bring (them) home then’

(1269) *’kwānî kí ré’d gù’b mò bèsénē? má’dān*
people NARR weave house MO BESENE DEM.LOC.MED

‘people then weave the house’

(1270) *kí gù’b ré’d-ù ’ká ’kúp̲ mò tānî*
COMP house weave:IPFV-IMPRS finish:IPFV head.PART MO then
’kwānî kí kār gòròsh mò bèsénē?
people NARR put gorosh MO BESENE

‘When the house is finished being woven, then the people get gorosh’

(1271) *kí gòròsh kār-ù thím mò tānî ’kwānî kí láh*
COMP gorosh put:PFV-IMPRS finish MO PHM people NARR select
cwá-ny jì shō
wood-ASS straight

‘Once the gorosh is finished being fetched, people then select the straight poles’

(1272) *áw̄ ’kwānî kí láh ā ḳ́ā’dúm ā ’bórgā?,*
or people NARR select ACC.CL2 kadum ASS.CL2 good,

‘or people select good poles,’

(1273) *í* *dòŋgòn* *kūn* *mùr-ù* *hā?* *gù'b*
LOC.CL1 four REL.PL will.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS select house
'kús
throat.PART

'and four of those which should be tied at the top foundation of the house'

(1274) *dhàlì* *kí* *gù'b* *'kó-nù* *kí* *láh-á?* *'kús*
and COMP house stay.PL:PFV-IMPRS NARR select-3SG throat.PART
í *tāní*
REF PHM

'And when the top foundation of the house is firm'

(1275) *'kwāní* *kí* *ūk̲* *tō* *gì* *yùk̲-ù* *kí* *dàŋk̲á'b*
people NARR create thing REL.GEN call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP dangkab

'people then make the thing which is called dangkab'

(1276) *bà* *dàŋk̲á'b* *jă'dān* *á'dī* *tā* *mò-m-'bí'th*
once dangkab this 3SG COP place-ASS-strong

'So this dangkab, it is the foundation'

(1277) *gì* *mùr* *mà* *k̲ā'dúm* *í* *tān* *ḿmò* *ī* *dhù*
REL.GEN will.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL2 pole REF PHM GER go.PL leave
'kūs *í* *cīné?* *í* *mát̲ān*
throat LOC.CL1 inside LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.MED

'where the poles go to in order to let the poles join together'

(1278) *bà* *dàŋk̲á'b* *mùr-ù* *'kúç* *mò* *tāní* *ḿmò* *ça'b*
once dangkab will.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS fold MO PHM GER stay.SG
ā *cím* *dǒk̲* *ē*
ACC.CL2 day again

'Once the dangkab is rounded then it sits (for some) days again'

(1279) *mè'd kwārā áw̄ dòŋòn mún*
like three or four DEM.LOC.ANPH

'like three or four'

(1280) *á'dī 'bíth ā á'dī kí 'bī'th gòm tā*
3SG strong ERG.CL1 3SG COMP REDUP because COP

'it gets strong, because it is'

(1281) *dàŋḱá'b 'pén-í cwá jìn áw̄ 'pén-á gàŋgàrà?*
dangkab from-CL1 tree REL or from-CL2 gangara

'dangkab from the tree branches or from gangara'

(1282) *á'dī í k̲wā?-ù mò-n tíyā tān ḿmò mí*
3SG REF divide:IPFV-IMPRS place-ASS some PHM GER do.AUX
kī dàŋḱá'b
with:CL2 dangkab

'that is combined with some parts to make with the dangkab.'

(1283) *yán 'kō'd 'kwāní kí há? gù'b 'kús bèsénē? tān*
DEM.PROX after people NARR tie house throat.PART BESENE PHM
ḿmò kō̲p mò
GER circle MO

'After that people then tie up the house center so in order to circle it'

(1284) *kí gù'b kō̲p-ù thím mò tāní 'kwāní kí t̲ā?*
COMP house circle:PFV-IMPRS finish MO PHM people NARR thatch
bèsénē? kā rìhàny
BESENE with.CL2 thatching grass

'when the house is circled completely people then thatching it with grass'

(1285) *'kwāní kí ţā? gù'b mò kā rìhàny ḿmò nyáŋ mò*
people NARR thatch house MO with.CL2 grass GER build MO
bèsénē?
BESENE

'People then thatch the house with grass in order to build it'

(1286) *kí gù'b nyáŋ-ù thím mò tāní 'kwāní kí 'tām*
COMP house build:PFV-IMPRS finish MO then people NARR bind
'bā? mò
neck.PART MO

'When the house is finished being built people then bind the top grass together with rope'

(1287) *kí gù'b 'tām-ù 'bā? í thím mò kí*
COMP house bind:PFV-IMPRS neck.PART LOC.CL1 finish MO COMP
ç̄ēsh í tāní yán 'kō'd bèsénē?
REF PHM DEM.PROX after BESENE

'when the house has been bound completely so after that'

(1288) *'kwāní kí thōsōn īs dǒk̲ ē tān ḿmò rús gù'b*
people NARR prepare body.PART again PHM GER mud house
bwàmán mò bèsénē?
inside MO BESENE

'people then start preparing themselves again for mudding the inner house'

(1289) *bà kí gù'b rús-ù thím mò tāní*
once COMP house mud:PFV-IMPRS finish MO PHM

'So when the house is mudded completely'

(1290) *'kwāní kí sō'k mò tāní ḿmò 'kō bwàmán*
people NARR move MO PHM GER exist.PL:IPFV inside

'people then move into it to stay inside'

(1291) *bà bwày gì nyàŋ-ù gù'b à 'dáhān*
once way REL.GEN build:IPFV-IMPRS house IDENT DEM.VB.PROX

'So this is the way in which a house is built,'

(1292) *áẃ bwày gì t̲él-ù mí 'pén wàthíʔ kí tā*
or way REL.GEN start:PFV-IMPRS do from man NARR be.3SG
gì gù'b pí'dī ā 'dáhān
GEN.CL1 house POSS.3SG IDENT DEM.VB.PROX

'or this is the way how it's started for a person to have a home of his own'

C.11 Uduk marriage

by Lam, recorded in 2011

(1293) *'bóró'd bè áhā? mùr-á à ṯórā ṯōr á p̱ó màsh*
well 1SG will.AUX-1SG LNK talk loc:CL2 top marriage
'kwāním pā 'pénā dhàmò ǹtágà 'dīshésān
Uduk people from:CL2 old until now

'Well, I am going to talk about marriage among the Uduk, from old times until now'

(1294) *'kwāním pā kā dhàmò tāntāní, únī sâ măsh-án*
Uduk people with:CL2 old PHM 3PL NEG marry:IPFV-3PL
kí jàhànnè? yĭsâ
COMP quickly NEG

'The Uduk people of old haven't always married quickly.'

(1295) *únī 'kŏ-n ǹtágì ēmbŭl gì mì-n-únī*
3PL stay.PL:IPFV-3PL until time REL.GEN do.AUX:IPFV-NAS-3PL
'bíth wàshán mò dhàlì nyàrá gàrà kí 'bíth mò dhàlì únī
strong boy MO and girl also COMP strong MO and 3PL
kí màsh mò
COMP marry MO

'They had to stay (wait) until the time of both the boy and the girl being mature enough to marry.'

(1296) *dhàlì kā dhàmò ínnín tānî, 'kwānî*
and with:CL2 old DEM.LOC.ITV.DIST PHM people
mí-'d-í, únī lò'b-ón, ūc̱í ūp̱ dhàlì
do:PFV-3SG-AD2 3PL play:IPFV-3PL children women and
ūc̱í-ŋ gwà'th únī lò'b-ón dhàl
children-ASS male 3PL play:IPFV-3PL and

'And a long time ago, boys (they) could play with girls'

(1297) *únī kí mí ì nyǎŋ ūshú(ūshí) gù'b gì*
3PL NARR do.AUX LNK build DIM.PL:CL1 house REL.GEN
yùk̲-ù kí gù'b à 'kú
call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP house ASS.CL2 tokul

'They build many small houses called huts (tokuls).'

(1298) *wàshán dhàlà nyàrá únī 'kó gù'b-à 'dé?*
boy and.CL2 girl 3PL stay.PL:PFV house-INDV one

'Boys and girls alike they stay in one house.'

(1299) *dhàlì únī ó kó lǒ'b-ón ā lò'b ūc̲í,*
and.CL1 3PL say:PFV COMP play:IPFV-3PL ACC.CL2 play children,
áw̄ lò'b wàshán únī kī lò'b nyàrá?
or play:PFV boy 3PL with.CL1 playPFV girl

'and they say 'The children are playing, or boys play with girls.' '

(1300) *bà tō gì mǐ-'d ā 'dán kā*
so thing REL do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-3SG IDENT DEM.VB.PROX with.CL2
dhàmò ǹtágì wàshán dhàlà nyàrá ǹ-cā mò
old until.CL1 boy and.CL2 girl LNK-grow MO

'So the thing which has been done until the boys and girls grow'

(1301) *dhàlì 'bí'th mò dhàlì gàm īs pí'dī kí*
and.CL1 mature:PFV MO and.CL1 find:PFV REFL POSS.3SG COMP
á'dī shúsh mā lù'd mò
3SG develop:PFV ERG.CL2 testicle MO

'and mature, and (he) finds himself to have developed testicles'

(1302) *dhàlì nyàrá? gàrà 'bíth mā kó mò tānī́*
and.CL1 girl also mature:PFV ERG.CL2 breast MO PHM

'and the girl also grows breasts'

(1303) *dhàlì únī kí p̲ú'd í ēmbŭl gì măsh-ù*
and.CL1 3PL NARR reach LOC.CL1 time REL marry:IPFV-IMPRS
mò bèsénnē?
MO BESENE

'They can reach the time of marriage then'

(1304) *dhàlì í 'dīshésān kí ēmbŭl yán tāní, 'kwānímpā*
and.CL1 LOC.CL1 nowadays COMP time this PHM Uduk people
áw̄ Údūk tāntāní únī măsh-án mò kí jàhànnè?
or Uduk PHM 3PL marry:IPFV-3PL MO COMP quickly

'And up to now, to this time, the Uduk people, or Uduk, they marry very early'

(1305) *wàk̲ká 'cí p̲ú'd-ú'd mò yìl 'kúmè'd pé kwārā áw̄*
if.CL2 child reach:IPFV-3SG MO year thirteen or
'kúmè'd ì pé sú? á'dī kí t̲él mí 'pén ì
twelve 3SG NARR begin do.PART behind.PART LNK
màsh mò
marry MO

'If the child reaches the year thirteen or twelve then he can start to get married.'

(1306) *gòm ēmbŭl gà 'dīsháñ tāní nyàrá wàk̲kí gàm-ù*
for time GEN.CL1:CL2 now PHM girl if.CL1 find:PFV-IMPRS
kí t̲ā? mā kó mò tāní, 'kwāní kí ó kí
COMP fall ERG.CL2 breast MO PHM, people NARR say COMP
pé-'d mò tíbà
pass:PFV-3SG MO TIBA

'Because at this time a girl, if (she) is found to have falling breasts, people will say that she's past (the time of marriage)'

(1307) *yĭsà mùr à wàsháñ dŏō màsh yĭsà tíyā*
NEG will.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1 boy again marry NEG other

'No other boy will ever marry her'

(1308) *í máhān tāní á'dī kí dhàl ǎyī 'cí bwày*
LOC.CL1 DEM.LOC.PROX PHM 3SG NARR let each child way
tāntāní
PHM

'Here it gives every child a way'

(1309) *áw̄ shācā ǎyī 'cí tāní á'dī kí màsh mò kí jàhànnè?*
or encourage each child PHM 3SG NARR marry MO COMP quickly
kī yìl 'kúmè'd ì pé sú? áw̄ yìl 'kúmè'dì pé kwārā
with.CL1 year twelve or year thirteen

'or encourages every child for him/her to marry early, by the age of 12 or 13.'

(1310) *gòm wàk̲kí á'dī mǐ-'d ì dì à kó*
for if.CL1 3SG do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-3SG LNK stay.SG CL2 breast
kí t̲ā? mò tāní,
NARR drop MO PHM

'For if she stays until (her) breasts drop,'

(1311) *dhàlì wàshán gàrà wàk̲kí 'cé'd á 'kús mò*
and.CL1 boy also if.CL1 break:IPFV LOC.CL2 throat MO
á p̲ó? mò tāní,
LOC.CL2 top MO PHM

'And the boy also if his voice breaks,'

(1312) *dhàlì 'ká-n mā mùr mò ń 'twā? tāní,*
and.CL1 grow:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 moustache MO LOC3 mouth PHM

'And the hair grows on the lips,'

(1313) *mùr à nyàrá à mí ì ó kí: wàshán*
will.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1 girl LNK do.AUX LNK say COMP: boy
jǎn pé-'d mò
DEM.MED pass:PFV-3SG MO

'The girl will say 'that boy is past (the time of marriage).' '

(1314) *yǐsâ dǒō mùr-ù mí ì màsh í 'cīné*
NEG again will.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS do.AUX LNK marry LOC.CL1 inside
tíyā
other

'No one will ever marry him either.'

(1315) *áw̄ tō ā 'dán gì mǐ-'d í*
or thing IDENT dem.vb.prox REL do:IPFV:AD2-3SG LOC.CL1
bwàmǎn 'kwānímpā, ñtágì é mǐ-n ì gàm
among Uduk, until 2SG do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-2SG LNK find
Údūk
Uduk

'Or this is a thing that has happened among the Uduk people, you find that the Uduk, '

(1316) *í 'dīsháñ únī mǎsh-án mò kī yìl jìn*
LOC.CL1 nowadays 3PL marry:IPFV-3PL MO with.CL1 year REL
gwà'd-á gwà'd
small-STV REDUP

'Nowadays they marry at an early age.'

(1317) *dhàlà 'cí wàk̲kí p̲ú'd-ú'd mò í yìl-à*
and.CL2 child if.CL1 reach:IPFV-3SG MO LOC.CL1 year-INDV
'kúmèdì 'cē'dí sú? á'dī kí t̲él mí 'pén ì
twelve 3SG NARR begin do.PART behind.PART LNK
màsh mò kí jàhànnè?
marry MO COMP quickly

'And if a child reaches 12 s/he starts getting married quickly, '

(1318) *gòm á'dī ó-'d kí mùr à é ē pé*
for 3SG say:PFV-3SG COMP will.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1 2SG LNK pass
mò
MO

'for s/he says (she) will be passed,'

(1319) *dhàlì wàshán gàrà ó-'d kí mùr à*
and.CL1 boy also say:PFV-3SG COMP will.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1
é-è mǐ ì pé mò mì-n à
2SG LNK do.AUX:IPFV:AD2 LNK pass MO do.AUX:IPFV-NAS
nyàrá-à mǐ ì úsh mò
ERG.CL1 girl LNK do.AUX:IPFV:AD2 LNK

'and the boy also says (he?) will be passed, to be refused by the girl.'

(1320) *yǎū mí yán kí dhàl à 'cím 'bómī bwày*
so do.NOM DEM.PROX COMP let ACC.CL2 girl way
dhàlà 'cíŋ gwà̱th tānī́
and.CL2 boy PHM

'So this thing will give (let) the girl a way, and the male boy'

(1321) *á'dī kí màsh mò kí jàhànnè? kí únī yǐsâ*
3SG NARR marry MO COMP quickly COMP 3PL NEG
cā-ká-n kí 'bōr-é yà
grow:PFV-AD1-3PL COMP good-ADV NEG

'They can marry very early, before they are (not) fully grown.'

(1322) *yǎū tō-ŋ kámú ā 'dán jìn mǐ-'d*
so thing-ASS other IDENT dem.vb.prox REL do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-3SG
í bwàmán í 'kwānímpā,
LOC.CL1 among LOC.CL1 Uduk

'So this thing is what happens among the Uduk people, '

(1323) *dhàlì tō ka̱ā̱n gì mǐ-'d-ī 'bór*
and thing DEM.ADV.PROX REL do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-3SG-SER good
gòm 'kwānímpā gì mìsh à ǎyī wàthí?
for Uduk REL know:PFV ERG.CL1 each person

'and this thing which is done is good for the Uduk, for every person.'

(1324) *'bór-ó'd bè gò-m pém gì ó-ká*
good:IPFV-3SG BE.PTCL saying-ASS POSS.1SG REL say:PFV-ERG.1SG
shwāné nín tānī́ áhā? wǎl-á à ṯōr á ṯó?
a bit ago PHM 1SG discuss:IPFV-1SG LNK tell:PFV LOC.CL2 top
mǐ màsh ḗ 'kwānímpā áw̄ Údūk
do.AUX:IPFV:AD2 marry DUR.LOC Uduk people or Uduk

'Well for my saying that I said a while ago that I was discussing about the marriage of the Uduk people or Uduk'

(1325) *bàáthábàn mè'd gò jìn ó-kí-kā? mò*
but of course as message REL say:PFV-AD1-ERG.1SG MO
shwāné nín tānī́ 'kwānímpā yǐsà̄ mǎsh-án kí
a bit ago PHM Uduk people NEG marry:IPFV-3PL COMP
jàhànnè? yǐsà̄ kā dhàmò=yà
quickly NEG with.CL2 old=NEG

'As I said earlier that the Uduk people did not marry early since old times.'

(1326) *únī 'kŏ́-n tānī́ 'bíth wàshán mò*
3PL stay.PL:IPFV-3PL PHM mature:PFV young.man MO

'They stay until maturity.'

(1327) *dhàlì ḗ 'bwàmán 'kwānímpā tānī́, 'kwānī́ mǎsh-án*
and DUR.LOC among Uduk PHM people marry:IPFV-3PL
kī mè'd
with.CL1 hand

'And among the Uduk people, people marry freely.'

(1328) *únī yǐsà̄ ŋǎṯ tō-ŋ kámú 'pénī cōm*
3PL NEG want:IPFV:AD2 thing-ASS other from:CL1 father.3SG
mā 'cí wàshán gì mǎsh 'bwā-ḿ pí'dī
GEN.CL2 child boy REL marry:IPFV daughter-ASS POSS.3SG
yǐsà̄
NEG

'They do not want something from the father of the boy who is marrying their daughter.'

(1329) *bà tō ā 'dán jìn dǐ-'d í*
so thing IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1
bwàmǎn 'kwānímpā ñtágà 'dīsháñ
among Uduk until now

'So this is what happens among the Uduk people up to now'

(1330) *dhàlì kā dhàmò ńnín tāní mí màsh*
and with.CL2 old DEM.LOC.ITV PHM do.AUX:PFV marry
'kwānímpā kí pál ó ò màsh kā gŭrùsh ḿmò
Uduk COMP try:PFV say LNK marry with.CL2 money GER
c̱ī tō
give thing

'And in the past, the marriage of the Uduk, it was tried to marry with money to give things.'

(1331) *bà tō yán yĭsâ kí 'bór í bwàmǎn 'kwānímpā*
so thing DEM.PROX NEG COMP good LOC.CL1 among Uduk

'So this thing was not good among the Uduk people'

(1332) *'kwāní kí ó kí wàk̲ká 'cím 'bómī mì-n*
people NARR say COMP if.CL2 girl do.AUX:IPFV-NAS
à gwàth̲ màsh kā gŭrùsh áw̄ c̱ī tō
ERG.CL1 boy marry with.CL2 money or give:PFV something

'people will say: (what if) the girl was married to (by) a man with money or to pay something.'

(1333) *bà tō yán yĭsâ kí 'bór í bwàmǎn 'kwānímpā*
so thing DEM.PROX NEG COMP good LOC.CL1 among Uduk
yĭsâ
NEG

'So this thing is not good among the Uduk people'

(1334) *'kwānímpā kí ó kí wàk̲ká 'cí-m 'bómī mù-nù*
people NARR say COMP if.CL2 child-ASS girl do.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS
màsh kā gǔrùsh,
marry with.CL2 money

'people can say if a girl will be married by money,'

(1335) *áw̄ c̲ī tō ká'dān í bwàmăn 'kwānímpā tānî*
or give thing DEM.ADV.MED LOC.CL1 among Uduk PHM
'kwānî kí thārcām ī ó kí à 'cím 'bómī tānî
people NARR encourage go.PL say COMP CL2 girl PHM
yǒl-ù mò 'té-'d-í bà?
trade:IPFV:AD2-IMPRS MO refuse-3SG-AD2 stomach.PART

'Or to pay for something, like this among the Uduk people, then people will explain and say the girl was sold by money.'

(1336) *tō gì dǐ-'d ā 'dán í bwàmăn*
thing REL exist.SG:IPFV-3SG IDENT DEM.VB.PROX LOC.CL1 among
'kwānímpā
Uduk

'This is the thing which exists among the Uduk people.'

(1337) *wàk̲kí cōm wàshán c̲ī tō gòm cōm mā*
if father.3SG boy give:PFV thing for father.3SG GEN.CL2
'cím 'bómī tāntānî káhān tāntānî
girl PHM DEM.ADV.PROX PHM

'If the father of the boy gives something to the father of the girl'

(1338) *'kwānî kí ó gò kí: à 'cí-m 'bómī tānî*
people NARR say message.PART COMP: CL2 child-ASS girl PHM
áw̄ 'kwānî yǒl 'bwā? mò
or people trade:IPFV:AD2 daughter MO

'People might think 'The girl or people are selling their daughter' '

(1339) *gòm kán tān tānî 'kwānímpā í 'dīsháñ yǐsâ*
for DEM.ADV.PROX PHM PHM people LOC.CL1 now NEG
ŋàp-án kí wàthí áw̄ à 'cíŋ gwàth wàkkí màsh
want:IPFV-3PL COMP person or CL2 boy if.CL1 marry:PFV
'bwā?úm bǔnì
daughter.3PL POSS.3PL

'For this reason people nowadays don't want a person or a boy, if he'd marry their daughter'

(1340) *únī yǐsâ ŋǎp tō-ŋ kámú 'pénî 'kwānî mā*
3PL NEG want:IPFV:AD2 thing-ASS other from people GEN.CL2
'cíŋ gwàth yǐsâ
boy NEG

'They wouldn't want something from people (the parents) of the boy.'

(1341) *gòm únī thārcām gò jǎntān ḿmò ó kí*
because 3PL encourage message.PART DEM.MED PHM GER say
à 'cí yòl-ù 'té bà?
COMP CL2 child trade:IPFV-IMPRS refuse

'Because they view it as if the child would be sold.'

(1342) *tō-ŋ kámú ā 'dán jìn dǐ-'d*
thing-ASS other IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL exist.SG:IPFV-3SG
í bwàmăn 'kwānímpā 'pénā dhàmò ñtágà 'dīsháñ,
LOC.CL1 among Uduk from:CL2 old until now

'This is another thing which had happened among the Uduk people, from the past up to now'

(1343) *dhàlì tō gì úsh mè'd í bwàmăn*
and.CL1 thing REL refuse:PFV hand.PART LOC.CL1 among
'kwānímpā tān tānî
Uduk PHM PHM

'And something which cannot be applied among the Uduk'

(1344) *ūc̱í tāntānì măsh-án kī yìl à gwă'dgà?*
children PHM marry:IPFV-3PL with.CL1 year ASS.CL2 small
dhàlì mè'd gò jìn ō-kí-kā? mò shwāné nín
and.CL1 as message REL say:IPFV-AD1-ERG.1SG MO a bit ago

'Children marry by an early age/underage, as I said before.'

(1345) *bà únī măsh-án 'té tānì ḿmò ó kí:*
so 3PL marry:IPFV-3PL just PHM GER say COMP

'So they just married by saying'

(1346) *áhā tí tānì wàk̲kí áhā 'cē'd ā 'kús á p̲ó?*
1SG REP PHM if.CL1 1SG break:IPFV ERG.CL1 throat LOC.CL2 top
mò dhàlà mùr kí 'ká-y-áā mò ń-'twā?
MO and.CL2 moustache NARR grow-ACC.1SG MO LOC.CL1-mouth
tānì
PHM

' 'If my voice changes, and the hair grows on my mouth, '

(1347) *à 'cím 'bómī kí ó-yáā kí áhā pé-ná mò"*
CL2 girl NARR say-ACC.1SG COMP 1SG pass:PFV-1SG MO

'a girl will tell me that I am passed.' '

(1348) *Ūc̱í ūp̲ kí ó-y-áā kí áhā pé-ná mò áhā yĭsà*
girls NARR say-1SG COMP 1SG pass:PFV-1SG MO 1SG NEG
mì-n à nyàrá-à dŏō há tíyā
do.AUX:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 girl LNK again agree

'The girls will say to me that I am passed, I won't be married anymore by another.'

(1349) *dhàlì nyàrá gàrà gŭs gò jìn ó-nù kí*
and girl also run:IPFV message.PART REL say:PFV-IMPRS COMP

'And the girl also is afraid of it being said'

(1350) *wàk̲ká ’cím ’bómī t̲āʔ mā kó mò tāní á’dī tí tāní*
if.CL2 girl fall ERG.CL2 breast MO PHM 3SG REP PHM
pé-’d mò, yǐsâ mì-n à wàshán ì há
pass:PFV-3SG MO NEG do.AUX-NAS ERG.CL1 boy LNK agree
yǐsâ
NEG

“‘What if the girl’s breasts grow? (rep speech) she is passed, no boy will marry her anymore.” ’

(1351) *gòm kántān tāní mí yán kí shācā ǎyī*
for DEM.ADV.MED PHM do:PFV DEM.PROX COMP encourage each
’cí tāní á’dī kí màsh mò kī yìl à gwǎ’dgàʔ
child PHM 3SG NARR marry MO with:CL1 year ASS.CL2 small

‘For this reason this can encourage every child, for them to marry at an early age.’

(1352) *bà tō ā ’dáhān jìn mǐ-’d ḗ*
so thing IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-3SG DUR.LOC
bwàmǎn ’kwānímpā ’pénā dhàmò tāgà ’dīsháñ
among Uduk from.CL2 old until now

‘So this is the thing which happens among the Uduk people, from the olden time up to now.’

(1353) *bà mǐ màsh à ’dáhān gì mǐ-’d*
so do:IPFV:AD2 marriage IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-3SG
í bwàmǎn ’kwānímpā áw̄ (Údūk)
AD2 among Uduk or Uduk

‘So this was the marriage here among the Uduk people or (Uduk).’

(1354) *bà t̲ōsh-kāʔ máhān tāní áhā wàl-á*
so think:IPFV-ERG.1SG DEM.LOC.PROX PHM 1SG discuss:IPFV-1SG
à t̲ōr mò á p̲óʔ gò màsh Údūk áw̄ (’kwānímpā)
LNK tell MO LOC.CL2 top message marry Uduk or Uduk
bà
BA

‘So I thought up to here I was discussing about the Uduk marriage or (’kwanim pa)’

(1355) *áhā tōsh-á kí mí yán mì-n-ánà-sán*
1SG think:IPFV-1SG COMP do.NOM DEM.PROX do.AUX:IPFV-NAS-ERG.1PI-DEM
tāní ’bór-ó’d làkíñ ŋàp-á’d ì ’cíth īs
PHM good:IPFV-3SG but want:IPFV-ERG.3SG LNK cut body.PART
mò
MO

‘So I was thinking this current practice done by us is good but it needs to be minimized or reduced’

(1356) *gòmà ’cí yǐsâ ’bór-ó’d á’dī kí màsh kī yìl*
for.CL2 child NEG good:IPFV-3SG 3SG NARR marry with.CL1 year
à gwǎ’dgà?
ASS.CL2 small

‘Because it’s not good for the child to marry early ’

(1357) *kí á’dī dǐ kí ’bíth năskínā dhàlì dǐ*
COMP 3SG exist.SG:IPFV COMP mature still and exist.SG:IPFV
kí mísh tō gì ’bór-ón gòm á’dī yà
COMP know thing REL good:IPFV-3PL for 3SG NEG

‘before the child is mature, and doesn’t know things which are not good for him/her’

(1358) *gòmà ’cí măsh-á’d kī gwà’d kí jàhànnè? tāní*
for.CL2 child marry:IPFV-3SG with.CL1 small COMP quickly PHM
á’dī kí tél mí ’pén tāní
3SG NARR begin do.PART behind.PART PHM

‘For the child marries when he/she is small and early, she begins’

(1359) *á’dī kí dhàl wàthíŋ gwàth pí’dī mò ’té tāní gòm á’dī*
3SG NARR leave man POSS.3SG MO just PHM for 3SG
yǐsâ mǐsh-kí tō-ŋ kámú wà
NEG see:IPFV:AD2-AD1 thing-ASS other NEG

‘she just leaves her husband, for he doesn’t know anything.’

(1360) *dhàlì wàthíŋ gwà̲th pí'dī yĭsâ mĭsh-kí tō-ŋ*
and.CL1 man POSS.3SG NEG know:IPFV:AD2-AD1 thing-ASS
kámú wà
other NEG

'And her husband doesn't know anything.'

(1361) *wà yĭsâ mĭsh-kí-n ā mùsùlĭyà-m*
and NEG know:IPFV:AD2-AD1-3PL ACC.CL2 responsibility-ASS
bŭnī jìn mùr à únī mí í bwă-ŋ
POSS.3PL REL will.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1 3PL do LOC.CL1 inside-ASS
gù'b à
house NEG

'And they don't know their responsibility which they should do in the home.'

(1362) *màsh kī gwà'd yán tāní bwày mí-m pí'dī*
marriage with.CL1 small DEM.PROX PHM way do-ASS POSS.3SG
jìn shí?-í'd ā 'dáhān sān
REL bad-3SG IDENT DEM.VB.PROX

'This early marriage, this is how it is bad (lit: its way of doing which is bad).'

(1363) *bà únī tān tāní nă-n-à shācā kí únī*
so 3PL PHM PHM do.AUX:IPFV-NAS-ERG.1PI encourage 3PL COMP
mí-n ì 'kó kí màsh kī yìl à
do.AUX:PFV-3PL LNK stay.PL COMP marry with.CL1 year ASS.CL2
gwă'dgà
SMALL

'So they are encouraged by us not to marry at an early age,'

(1364) *dhàlì únī 'kō kí màsh kí únī*
and.CL1 3PL stay.PL:IPFV COMP 3PL stay.PL:IPFV COMP
'kó kí mísh tō-n tíyā 'bān gì
marry COMP know thing-ASS some temple.PART REL
mùr-ŭnī mí ē̆ gù'b bŭnī
will.AUX:IPFV-ERG.3PL do DUR.LOC house POSS.3PL

' and they cannot marry before they (don't) know something which should be done in their home'

(1365) *áw̄ mùsùlĭyà kūn mùr-ŭnī mí ḗ*
or responsibility REL.PL will.AUX:IPFV-ERG.3PL do DUR.LOC
bwă-ŋ gù'b bŭnī
inside-ASS house POSS.3PL

'or the responsibility which should be done by them in their home.'

(1366) *bà tā gò à 'dán gì mùr-gà*
so COP:PFV message IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL will.AUX:IPFV-ERG.1SG
ó á p̲ó mí màsh 'kwānímpā
say LOC.CL2 top do.AUX marry Uduk

'So this is the message which I planned to discuss about the Uduk marriage'

(1367) *bà á bòrí mún tān tānī*
So LOC.CL2 future DEM.LOC.ANPH PHM PHM

'So in the near future'

(1368) *màsh 'kwānímpā mì-nù mí ì thōsōn mò*
marriage Uduk do.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS do.AUX LNK fix MO
sădhù mò, mí ì thōsōn mò sădhù á'dī mì-n
fix MO, do.AUX LNK fix MO fix 3SG do.AUX:IPFV-NAS
à á'dī mí ì 'bór-á 'bōr
ERG.CL1 3SG do.AUX LNK good-STV REDUP

'Uduk marriage will even be fixed, will even be fixed, it will be good'

(1369) *á'dī mì-n mà 'cí ì mí ì k̲ō?*
3SG do.AUX:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL2 child LNK do.AUX LNK fear
īs
body.PART

'It will make the child afraid'

(1370) *wàk̲ká 'cí p̲āk̲ār-á'd mò màsh mò kī yìl*
if.CL2 child think:IPFV-3SG MO marriage MO with.CL1 year
à gwǎ'dgà
ASS.CL2 small

'If the child is thinking about marrying early'

(1371) *mí-ŋ kámú dǐ-'d jìn mì-nù mí*
do-ASS other exist.SG:IPFV-3SG REL do.AUX:IPFV-IMPRS do:IPFV
ì, tāní ḿmò 'cíth mí yán īs
LNK PHM GER cut do.NOM DEM.PROX body.PART

'there would be some procedures to reduce them.'

(1372) *bà wàk̲kí ánā (mì)nà tā mí ì ūshí*
so if.CL1 1PI do.AUX:IPFV-1PI COP:PFV do.NOM LNK small.PL
mí-n tíyā ḿmò āk̲ mí yán ē
do.NOM-ASS some GER change do.NOM DEM.PROX eye.PART

'So if other things can be done for us to change this way (of ours)'

(1373) *bà ūc̲í gàrà mí-n ì mí ì āk̲ mí*
so children also do.AUX:PFV-3PL LNK do.NOM LNK change do.NOM
ē mò,
eye.PART MO

'So the children also will change'

(1374) *bà mí yán ḿmò màsh-únī kí gwà'd īsā yémpā tāní*
so do DEM.PROX GER marry-3PL COMP small always PHM
shí?-únī-yā mùsták̲bàl bǔnī mò,
bad:IPFV-3PL-ACC.CL2 future POSS.3PL MO

'This habit of them always marrying early spoils their future,'

(1375) *áw mí kūn mì-n à únī mí gòmà*
or do.NOM REL.PL do.AUX:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 3PL do for.CL2
bòr tāní shí? ā únī mò
future PHM bad ERG.CL1 3PL MO

'or spoils the deeds which they can do for the future'

(1376) *À ’cí wàshán wàk̲kí tā-’d gì mí-ŋ kámú*
CL2 child boy if.CL1 COP:PFV-3SG REL do.NOM-ASS other
jìn ŋàp̲-á’dī mí ì t̲él mí-m
REL want:IPFV-ERG.3SG do.NOM LNK begin do.NOM.PART-ASS
pí’dī ’pén í màsh mò kī gwà’d
POSS.3SG behind.PART LOC.CL1 marriage MO with.CL1 small
tāní
PHM

‘The boy-child when he has something that he wants to do, he will start to marry when he is small,’

(1377) *á’dī yĭsâ mùr-ú’d-ī mí tō-ŋ kámú gì*
3SG NEG will.AUX:IPFV-3SG-LNK do.AUX:PFV thing-ASS other REL
’bór-á ’bōr gòmà bòrí mún-à
good-STV REDUP for future DEM.LOC.ANPH-NEG

‘He will not do good things for the future’

(1378) *dhàlà ’cím ’bómī gàrà kán*
and.CL2 girl also DEM.ADV.PROX

‘And the girl-child also is like this.’

(1379) *bà tō ā ’dán jìn dĭ-’d í*
so thing IDENT DEM.VB.PROX REL exist.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1
bwàmăn ’kwānímpā í mí màsh ’kwānímpā,
among Uduk LOC.CL1 do.AUX:PFV marriage Uduk

‘So this is the thing that happens among the Uduk people, in the marriage of the Uduk,’

(1380) *dhàlì ’bór-á ’bōr làkíīn ’dīsháñ shí?-á shī? gòmà*
and good-STV REDUP but now bad-STV REDUP for.CL2
mùstákbàl mò
future MO

‘it was good but now it is bad for the future.’

(1381) *bà gò-m pém mā'dán gì ō-kā?*
so message-ASS POSS.1SG DEM.LOC.MED REL say:IPFV-ERG.1SG
á pó mí màsh 'kwānímpā
LOC.CL2 top do.AUX:PFV marriage Uduk

'So this is my message here that I have said about Uduk marriage.'

(1382) *'bór pí'dī dhàlì shí? pí'dī ā*
good.NOM POSS.3SG and.CL1 bad.NOM POSS.3SG IDENT
'dán
DEM.VB.PROX

'These are its advantages and disadvantages.'

(1383) *wà shúkūrān*
so thank you

'Thank you.'

C.12 Dunkul & Basal and the crocodile

by Ma̱tayis, recorded in 2013 in the Yabus dialect of Uduk, with Edward Shadrach

(1384) *’bór-ó’d bè kā cím-ánásān yǎ-náā*
good:IPFV-3SG BE with:CL2 day-DEM.PROX go.SING:IPFV-1SG.ERG
’pénɨ́ mʉ̀-yánɨ́n
from:CL1 place-DEM.DISTAL

‘Well this day I came from this other place (far)’

(1385) *áhā ’bór-á bwà kí ’bōr*
1SG good:IPFV-1SG stomach COMP REDUP

‘I am happy’

(1386) *áā yǎ-ná ’pénɨ́ Bàmbǎsɨ̄ ḿmò lʉ́k̲ ’twā?*
1SG go.SING:IPFV-1SG from:CL1 Bambasi GERUND pass mouth
’twāmpā Yàbúūs zàlɨ̀ ’twāmpā bwà ’césh ’twā kwánsān
Uduk Yabus and Uduk stomach earth mouth DEM.PROX.PL
ŋàp̲ ɨ̀ ḿmʉ̀ ū-ū wǎrkā
seek:IPFV LNK GERUND make-CL2 book

‘I came from Bambasi to translate these Yabus Uduk and Bwa ’Cesh Uduk needed to make a book.’

(1387) *bà áā tā-ná kā ārɨ́ gò lòlòp̲ à ’dé? ’pénɨ́*
So 1SG COP:PFV-1SG with:CL2 DIM:CL1 story INDV one from:CL1
zàmɨ̀ tāntāní, ’kwāzí-n zàmɨ̀
long.ago PHM people-ASS long.ago

‘I have a small story from a long time ago, from people of long ago’

(1388) *kā mèd yánsān hʉ́nɨ̄ ɨ́-n ḿmʉ̀ ’kósh wà’sh*
with:CL2 time DEM.PROX 3PL go.PL:IPFV-3PL GERUND kill fish
tāní
PHM

‘at that time they went to go fishing’

(1389) *wàzɨ́-n ’dé yùk kɨ́ Bǎsāl, wàzɨ́-n ’dé yùk*
person-ASS one call:IPFV COMP Basal, person-ASS one call:IPFV
kɨ́ Dǔnkúl
COMP Dunkul

‘One person was called Basal(onion), one person was called Dunkul’

(1390) *ɨ́-n ì gàm jìsàn nàŋà tāntānɨ́ hʉ́nɨ̄ kɨ́ tūp*
go.PL:IPFV-3PL LNK find hole crocodile PHM 3PL NARR dig

‘They went to the hole of the crocodile, they dug a hole’

(1391) *à Bǎsāl kɨ́ ó Dǔnkúl kɨ́: “Dǔnkúl dì kɨ́*
CL2 Basal NARR say Dunkul COMP Dunkul stay.SG COMP:CL1
bòr-ɨ́ gòm nàŋà bǎsā mɨ̀sh à pʉ́d
careful for crocodile NEG know:IPFV ACC.CL2 arrive
’bān bǎsā yǎ
temple.PART NEG NEG

‘Basal said to Dunkul, “Dunkul be careful because we don’t know what direction the crocodile is coming from’

(1392) *à nàŋà mɨ́-ǹ pʉ́d tānɨ́, nàŋà mɨ́-ǹ ʉ́r*
CL2 crocodile do.AUX:PFV LNK arrive PHM crocodile do.AUX:PFV
ánā”
LNK

‘The crocodile will come out, the crocodile will chase us’

(1393) *Dǔnkúl kɨ́ ó “āāh! Zɨ̄l-ɨ̄ gò jǎntān gò*
Dunkul NARR say aah let:IPFV-IMPER word DEM.MED word
jǎntān ʉ́nɨ́-kán tānɨ́
DEM.MED 3PL-DEM.ADV.PROX PHM

‘Dunkul said “aah! Let it be said then’

(1394) *ɨ̄s-ɨ̄ ɨ́ jǎntān tānɨ́ mà nàŋà ʉ́r tɨ̄bì”*
body-LNK 2SG DEM.MED PHM ERG.CL2 crocodile chase TIBA

‘that you would be the one chased by a crocodile.’

(1395) *'pénɨ́ mátān tāní Dŭnkúl dɨ̆́-t ɨ́*
from:CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM Dunkul stay.SG:IPFV-3SG LOC.CL1
'kóp̲-á jìs zàlɨ̀ à Bǎsāl ádī k̲ūny-ɨ́ nàŋà
head-LOC.CL2 hole and CL2 Basal 3SG dig:IPFV-AD2 crocodile

'From there Dunkul was on top of the hole and Basal was the one who dug up the crocodile.'

(1396) Edward:

á'dī túp̲-ú'd ā nàŋà
3SG dig:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 crocodile

'He dug up the crocodile.'

(1397) Matayis:

hádī tɨ́p̲-ɨ́-t ā nàŋà
3SG dig:IPFV-AD2-3SG ACC.CL2 crocodile

'He dug up the crocodile.'

(1398) *'Pénɨ́ mátān tāní nàŋà kɨ́ míʃh kɨ́ jìs*
from:CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM crocodile NARR know COMP hole
jă-n ā 'twā mɨ̀ tāní átī kɨ́
grow:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 mouth.PART MO PHM 3SG NARR
p̲úd-í mɨ̀ 'pénɨ́ jìs tāntāní
return-AD2 MO from:CL1 hole PHM

'From there the crocodile saw the hole was getting bigger so it came out of the hole'

(1399) *átī kɨ́ t̲él īs-ɨ́ Dŭnkúl làŋgănā 'kóp̲ tībì*
3SG NARR begin body-LOC.CL1 Dunkul only head.PART TEBE
ńmɨ̀ úr
GERUND chase

'It was facing only Dunkul, to chase him'

(1400) *Dŭnkúl gŭs-ít ŕr-á nàŋà tānī zàlà Bǎsāl tānī*
Dunkul run:IPFV-3SG chase-3SG crocodile PHM and.CL2 Basal PHM
gŭs-út mù tānī zàlì bŏt Dŭnkúl ŕ kā
run:IPFV-3SG MO PHM and:CL1 overtake Dunkul REF with:CL2
ŋwǎcā tānī
quickly PHM

'Dunkul ran from the corocdile chasing him and Basal ran and overtook Dunkul

(1401) *zàlì Dŭnkúl gŭs-ít cúʌ̄lù "Bǎsāl wù-áā Bǎsāl*
and:CL1 Dunkul run:IPFV-AD2 calling Basal help-1SG Basal
wù-áā Bǎsāl wù-áā!"
help-1SG Basal help-1SG

'and Dunkul ran calling "Basal help me! Basal help me!"'

(1402) *Dŭnkúl bǎsā gàm Bǎsāl kā ŋwǎcā bǎsāyǎ*
Dunkul NEG find:PFV Basal with:CL2 quickly NEG

'Dunkul couldn't run as fast as Basal'

(1403) *à wàzŕ-m pā ádī̱ yù̱k̲ kŕ Bǎsāl*
PHM man-ASS village 3SG call:IPFV COMP Basal

'The man he was called Basal'

(1404) *wàzŕ-m kŕ gùs tānī bŏ̱t kúmí ī̱ kā ŋwǎcā*
man-ASS NARR run PHM overtake other go.PL with:CL2 speed
mò tānī
MO PHM

'The man (Basal) quickly overtook the other'

(1405) *Dŭnkúl gŭ-n ā nàŋà ŕ Dŭnkúl*
Dunkul bring.PL:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 crocodile REF Dunkul
mù̱r à nàŋà ó bù̱z mù
will.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1 crocodile say catch MO

'Dunkul was followed by the crocodile and the crocodile wanted to catch Dunkul'

(1406) *làkɨ́n (zàlɨ̀) wàzɨ́ mɨ̀sh-ɨ́ ŋwǎcā kɨ́ nyànyɨ́ bǒt̲*
so and man know:IPFV-AD2 quickly COMP a lot overtake:PFV
nàŋà ɨ̄ kā ŋwǎcā
crocodile go.PL:PFV with:CL2 quickly

'And the man (Dunkul) knew how to run a lot, faster than the crocodile'

(1407) *nàŋà kɨ́ kúl-í mʉ̀ tānɨ́ átī kɨ́ yà bǐt jɨ̀s*
crocodile NARR return-AD2 MO PHM 3SG NARR go.SG reach hole
mʉ̀ sē jɨ̀s mʉ̀
MO enter hole MO

'The crocodile went back to its hole, entered the hole'

(1408) *ɨ́ mʉ̀ yùk̲ kɨ́ Nyányjètà tībà ɨ́ ʼkóp̲*
LOC.CL1 place call:IPFV COMP Nyanyjeta TIBA LOC.CL1 head
ā àlɨ̀ ɨ́ Bălɨ̂ɨ̂l
ASS.CL2 pool LOC.CL1 Baliil

'In the place called Nyanyjeta it was said at the top of the pool in Baliil'

(1409) *yàhó gò lòlòp̲-ánsān átī ŋàp̲-kà ḿmʉ̀*
so story-DEM.PROX 3SG want.AUX:IPFV-ERG.1SG GERUND
ú ɨ́ ʼtwāmpā ḿmʉ̀ ú-ù ʼkwāzím pā
make:IPFV LOC.CL1 Uduk GERUND make:IPFV LNK
kɨ́ mɨ́sh
Uduk people

'This is my story that I wanted to make in Uduk to make it for people to know'

(1410) *mɨ́sh ʼbān kɨ́ gò lòlòp̲ yánsān ʼpénɨ́ gò-ŋ*
know temple COMP story DEM.PROX from:CL1 word-ASS
ʼkwāzɨ́-n zàmɨ̀
people-ASS of.old

'To know this story from the people of old.'

(1411) *átī ŋàp̱ à áhā átī kɨ́ ú bwǎ-n-tō*
3SG want.AUX:IPFV ERG 1SG 3SG COMP make:IPFV inside-ASS-thing
mátān tānɨ́ ’kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ mɨ́sh ’bān
DEM.LOC.MED PHM people NARR know temple

‘I wanted it to be made inside it there (the book) for people to know’

(1412) *átī tā-t ā gò-m pém ’bár-át*
3SG COP:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 word-ASS POSS.1SG be.finished:IPFV-3SG
mʉ̀
MO

‘That’s all my story.’

(1413) *gwày pém yùḵ ká Màtáyīs Nyălà Jìmà*
name POSS.1SG call:IPFV COMP.CL2 Matayis Nyala Jima

‘My name I am called Matayis Nyala Jima’

(1414) *áhā ’pénɨ́ Bèlàtʉ́mà Áhā mì-ná tō yánsañ gòm*
1SG from:CL1 Belathuma 1SG do:IPFV-1SG thing DEM.PROX for
’kwāzɨ́ ’bár mò kā kūlú?
people all MO with:CL2 whole

‘I am from Belathuma. I did this thing for all the people in general.’

C.13 Jisalan the hunter

by Ma̱tayis, recorded in 2013 in the Yabus dialect of Uduk, with Edward Shadrach

(1415) *fā tánī à wàzɨ́-n ’dé ’pénɨ́ ’kʉ́mɨ́s ɨ́ Yàbúūs,*
so PHM FOC person-ASS one from:CL1 highlands LOC.CL1 Yabus

‘One person from the Yabus highlands,’

(1416) *cōm ā cú yùh-ù ká ’Kwārálɨ̀*
owner ASS.CL2 horn call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP:CL2 ’Kwarale

‘The owner of the horn was called ’Kwarale’

(1417) *ádɨ̄ bòr-ɨ́ cú ’pénɨ́ mʉ́nán tāní*
3SG hold:PFV-AD2 horn from:CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH.PROX PHM

‘He ran with the horn from some place’

(1418) *bòr-ɨ́ cú ’pénɨ́ mʉ́nán tāní yúk̲*
hold:PFV-AD2 horn from:CL1 DEM.LOC.ANPH.PROX PHM call
’kwāzɨ́ pā ’bár mò
people village complete MO

Ran with the horn from some place to call all the people‘’

(1419) *ámn̄ kɨ́ yàp̲ hām shō*
1PE NARR go.as.group ambush bush

‘We went as a group to ambush (it) in the wild’

(1420) *ámn̄ tā-ná kā ārɨ́ wàzɨ́-n ’dé,*
1PE COP:PFV-1PE with:CL2 small:CL1 person-ASS one,
yùh-ù kɨ́ Jìsàláñ ’pénɨ́ pā Bwà Wàsh
call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Jisalan from:CL1 village Bwa Wash

‘we have one person called Jisalan from the village Bwa Wash.’

(1421) *ʼkwāzɨ́ hám-ɨ́-n ā wát káñ tāní,*
people ambush:IPFV-AD2-3PL ACC.CL2 hunt DEM.ADV.PROX PHM,
áí!!
ay

‘People were ambushing and hunting like this, ay!’

(1422) *Jɨ̀sàláñ kɨ́ yíp̱ shūm mʉ̀ p̱í ʼkwāzɨ́-m pā*
Jisalan NARR throw animal MO surpass:PFV people-ASS village
ē tɨ́ndɨ́ ʼbár mʉ̀
eye.PART day complete MO

‘Jisalan threw the spears at the animal the most of any people ever’

(1423) *ámɨ̄ kɨ́ ḵál-ɨ́ gwày ʼpéntɨ́ ʼkʉ́mʉ́s jàs-kà*
1PE NARR carry-AD2 song from:CL1 highlands only-WITH:CL2
shʉ̄m ɨ́ ʼbā
meat LOC.CL1 neck

‘We sang a song from the highlands only with the meat on our neck’

(1424) *jàs-kà shʉ̄m ɨ́ ʼbā tɨ́ndɨ́ ʼbár mʉ̀*
only-WITH:CL2 meat LOC.CL1 neck day complete MO
ɨ́sān
DEM.LOC.PROX.PREC

‘Only with the meat on our necks all the time then’

(1425) *yɨ̌sā ŋwà-n à ámɨ̄ yɨ̌sà*
NEG forget:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 1PE NEG

‘We won’t forget him’

(1426) *hádɨ̄ yɨ̌sà ŋwá-d kā tō-ŋ ʼkósh yɨ̌sà*
3SG NEG forget:PFV-3SG with:CL2 thing-ASS kill NEG

‘He doesn’t forget to kill the animal’

(1427) *wàzɨ́ yùh-ù kɨ́ Jɨ̀sàláñ*
person call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Jisalan

'The man is called Jisalan'

(1428) *yà ádɨ̄ wàzɨ́ ʼpénɨ́ pā bǎm̄ ʼpénɨ́ pā*
so 3SG person from:CL1 village POSS.1PE from:CL1 village
Bèlàtʉ́mà?
Belathuma

'And he was a person from our village, from the village of Belathuma.'

(1429) *yàhɨ́ ádɨ̄ yùh-ù kɨ́ Jɨ̀sàláñ*
so 3SG call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Jisalan

'He was called Jisalan'

(1430) *ádɨ̄ mɨ́ tō-ánsān ʼkósh-ɨ́ shúm kɨ́ nyànyɨ́-nyànyɨ́*
3SG do:PFV thing-DEM.PROX kill-AD2 animal COMP many:IDPH-REDUP

'He did this and killed many animals.'

(1431) *àmbè gò lòlo̱p yánsañ tāní ŋàp̱-kà?* *ádɨ̄ kɨ́*
so story DEM.PROX PHM want.AUX:IPFV-ERG.1SG 3SG COMP
ú kɨ́ bòr-ɨ́ tāní
say COMP hold-AD2 PHM

'Yes this story I wanted it to be made well'

(1432) *ú ádɨ̄ mɨ̀-n à ʼkwāzɨ́-m pā mɨ́sh*
make:PFV 3SG do:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 people-ASS village know
gò ʼbān ó kɨ́ ánā tīm-à
message.PART temple.PART say:PFV COMP 1PI finish:IPFV-1PI
gò
message.PART

'To make it so that the Uduk understand the end of our story'

(1433) *ɨ́* *bămpā?* *yásɪ̄* *ɨ́* *Āsósā* *káyē-káyē*
LOC.CL1 town DEM.PRO2 LOC.CL1 Asosa DEM.ADV.PROX-redup
(ísē-ísē) *ádɪ̄* *mɨ̌sh-ɨ́-n̄*
(DEM.LOC.PREC.PROX2-REDUP) 3SG understand:IPFV-AD1-3PL
ʾbān
temple.PART

'In this town in Asosa here, they will understand.'

C.14 Kanya

by Ma̱tayis, recorded in 2013 in the Yabus dialect of Uduk, with Edward Shadrach

(1434) *bà gò lòlò̱p jɨn 'kó-n-á p̱ó-ɨ́ kwārā*
so story REL exist.PL:PFV-3PL-LOC.CL2 top.PART-COLL three
má'dān mɨ̀sh-ɨ́ ɨ́ wàzɨ́-ŋ gà̱p à
DEM.LOC.MED know:IPFV-AD2 LOC.CL1 person-ASS shore ASS.CL2
kámú yù̱k-ù kí Ka̱nyā
other call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Kanya

'So here is the third story you know the one person from the shore called Kanya.'

(1435) *à ŋɨ̀ɨ̀rɨ́ny 'sí-n 'dé ṯō jǐ 'kós*
CL2 hyena black-ASS one disturb DEF.GEN:LOC.CL1 throat.PART
ḿmò 'kósh tās mɨ́-ɨ̀ ɨ́ pā bǎm̄ kā cɨ́m-án-ɨ̄
GER kill only goat LNK LOC.CL1 village POSS.1PE with:CL2
'bár mò ɨ́ pā bǎm̄
day-DEM.PROX-LNK complete MO DUR.LOC village

'The black hyena was disturbing people to kill only (our) goats in our village every day in our village'

(1436) Edward:

nyùrúny
hyena

'Hyena'

(1437) Matayis:

áā, ŋɨ̀ɨ̀rɨ́ny 'sí yúh-ám̄ kɨ́ ŋɨ̀ɨ̀rɨ́ny 'sí tɨ̄bà
yes, hyena black call:PFV-ERG.1PE COMP hyena black PARTICLE

'Yes, the black hyena we call the black hyena.'

(1438) *Ka̱nyā kɨ́ sú'k 'pénɨ́ pā sú'k sú'k sú'k tā*
Kanya NARR follow from:CL1 village follow follow follow COP:PFV
mís wòsh yùka̱ù kɨ́ Jěm 'Twā tūbà
top mountain call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Jem 'Twa PARTICLE

'Kanya followed behind until the top of the mountain called Jem 'Twa.'

(1439) *Ka̱nyā kɨ́ ó kɨ́ shíñ shíñ shíñ Wòsà áhā mǎ*
Kanya NARR say COMP wait wait wait Wosa 1SG will.AUX:IPFV
yà pā mò ánā kɨ́ yúka̱-ú 'kwāzɨ́ kā rìs
go.SG:PFV home MO 1PI NARR call-VENT people with:CL2 many
ánā kɨ́ hām mò.
1PI NARR ambush MO

'Kanya said wait wait wait, Wosa, I will go home we will call many people to ambush him.'

(1440) *ŋ̀ɨ̀rɨ́ny 'sí yán yǐsā mɨ́-n̄ dì yǐsà*
hyena black DEM.PROX NEG do.AUX:PFV-LNK exist.SG NEG
kā mèka̱.
with:CL2 spear

'The black hyena will not be missed by the spear.'

(1441) *há'dī kɨ́ yà pā mò gàm 'kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ 'kwāzɨ́*
3SG NARR go.SG home MO find people NARR people
pɨ̄́-n sū-ŋ ka̱án gǎnā ɨ́ pā
drink:IPFV-3PL beer-ASS then real LOC.DUR village

'He will go home to find the people when people are drinking leftover beer at home (in the village).'

(1442) *kɨ́ 'kwāzɨ́ túl-ún í pā pɨ́ sū-ŋ*
COMP people gather:IPFV-3PL LOC.CL1 village drink:IPFV beer-ASS
ka̱án gǎnā á'dī kɨ́ yà ó gò kɨ́
DEM.MED real 3SG NARR go say message.PART COMP
"kánā!
"Hey(people)!

'When the people are all staying there drinking the leftover beer then he can go and say hey!'

(1443) *dǒō à ŋù̱rɨ́ny ’sí yán t̲ōc-ɨ́ ’kós*
again CL2 hyena black DEM.PROX disturb:IPFV-AD2 throat.PART
’kōsh-ɨ́ ánā mɨ̀
kill:IPFV-AD2 1PI goat

‘The black hyena again which always is disturbing us by killing (our) goats,

(1444) *yà-náā gàm mɨ̀-m pɨ́dī mò ɨ́ jìs,*
go.SG:PFV-ERG.1SG find place-ASS POSS.3SG MO LOC.CL1 hole,
ísh-íd í jìs í wòsh à Jěm ’Twā?
lay:IPFV-3SG AD2 hole LOC.CL1 mountain ASS.CL2 Jem ’Twa
tānɨ́
PHM

‘I found its home (place) in the cave (hole), laying in the cave (hole) in the mountain Jem ’Twa.’

(1445) *ŋàp à áhā kɨ́ mɨ̌-n-ánā*
want.AUX:IPFV ERG.CL1 1SG COMP do.AUX:IPFV:AD2-NAS-ERG.1PI
hām ánā kɨ́ ’kósh mò
ambush 1PI NARR kill MO

‘I want us to make an ambush and we can kill (it).’

(1446) *’pén má’dān ’kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ t̲él mɨ́ ’pén*
from:CL1 DEM.LOC.MED people NARR begin do.PART behind.PART
mò cú-kí nyànyɨ́: áy wàzɨ́ gùs-ú’d gòm mèk̲
MO shout-AD1 a.lot ay person run.SG:IPFV-3SG for spear
pídɨ̄ gù’b
POSS.3SG:LOC.CL1 house

‘From there the people began to shout a lot, ‘oh the person is running for his spear in the house”

(1447) *wàzɨ́ gŭs-ɨ́d ā k̲ál-ɨ́ mèk̲ ’pénɨ́ gù’b*
person run.SG:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 get.PL-AD2 spear from:CL1 house

‘The person ran to fetch the spear from his house.’

(1448) *'kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ tō? mèk tānɨ́ mɨ̀sínɨ̄ ɨ́ tānɨ́ hām*
people NARR straighten spear PHM BESENE REF PHM ambush
ŋù̱rɨ́ny 'sí mò
hyena black MO

'People straightened their spears then went to ambush the black hyena.'

(1449) *'pén má'dān tānɨ́ ī gàm ŋù̱rɨ́ny 'sí mò*
from:CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM go.PL:PFV find hyena black MO
mɨ̀sínɨ̄
BESE

'From there they then found the black hyena.'

(1450) *à múkū-n 'dé yùh-ù ká 'Kwálɨ̀*
CL2 friend-ASS one call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP:CL2 'Kwale

'One friend was called 'Kwale.'

(1451) *à 'Kwálɨ̀ kɨ́ tél ŋù̱rɨ́ny 'sí kā mèk mò*
CL2 'Kwale NARR begin hyena black with:CL2 spear MO

''Kwale hit the black hyena with the spear.'

(1452) *'pénɨ́ mís-ʌ̄ wòsh ŋù̱rɨ́ny 'sí yɨ̌sā bìt-íd 'pénɨ́*
from:CL1 top ASS.CL2 mountain hyena black NEG fall:IPFV-3SG
mù̱ mɨ̀sh-ɨ́ 'bān à 'pén dàn
from:CL1 place know:IPFV-AD2 temple.PART LNK from:CL1
mís-ʌ̄ wòsh sɨ̄dásɨ̄d
great top ASS.CL2

'From the top of the mountain the black hyena fell from the place not known, from the top of the great mountain it was far.'

(1453) *bwày 'césh ínín mɨ̀sínɨ̄ 'kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ k̲āl-ɨ́*
to ground DEM.LOC.ITV BESENE people NARR get.PL:IPFV-AD2
t̲él mɨ́ 'pén mò tāní tā mǎt
begin do.PART behind.PART MO PHM COP:PFV give.killing.blow
mò, 'kósh jwà mò
MO, kill dead MO

'To the ground there then people straight away started to give the killing blow, to kill it.'

(1454) *hádɨ̄ tā-d ā gò lòlò̲p pém hádɨ̄sáñ jɨ̀n*
3SG COP:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 story POSS.1SG 3SG.DEM.PROX REL
ŋà̲p-kà à c̲ɨ̄ kā c̲ɨ́m-ánsān ádɨ̄
want.AUX:IPFV-ERG.1SG LNK give with:CL2 day-DEM.PROX 3SG
mɨ̀-n-ā́d k̲ál mò 'kwár
do.AUX:IPFV-NAS-ERG.3SG take MO write

'This was my story now which I wanted to give this day he will take it to write down'

C.15 People going on a hunt

by Maṯayis, recorded in 2013 in the Yabus dialect of Uduk, with Edward Shadrach

(1455) *'kwāzɨ́ mùr-ú-ù mí ì tā gà wá'd*
people will.AUX:IPFV-AD2 do.AUX:PFV LNK COP PP.CL2 hunt

'People are going to hunt.'

(1456) *'bór-ó'd áhā 'pénɨ́ bà yàbúùs. Gwáy-ám pém áā*
good:IPFV-3SG 1SG from:CL1 area Yabus name-ASS POSS.1SG 1SG
yúḵ-ká gwày à Màtáyīs Nyálà Yɨ́mà
call:PFV-COMP:CL2 name ASS.CL2 Matayis Nyala Yima

'So I am from Yabus, my name, I am called Matayis Nyala Yima.'

(1457) *áhā 'pén bà Yàbûs ó gò lòlòp̱ kún ó-nù*
1SG from:CL1 area Yabus say:PFV story REL.PL say:PFV-IMPRS
kā zàmɨ̀ pā bănā ḿmò ṯór gò
with:CL2 long.time home POSS.1PI GER tell message.PART
gù-m pā bănā kā kūlúny ɨ́ pā
DEF.GEN.PL-ASS home POSS.1PI with:CL2 whole LOC.CL1 home
bănā má'dān
POSS.1PI DEM.LOC.MED

'I, from Yabus, shall tell stories that were told a long time ago to tell for our whole community there.'

(1458) *á'dī mì-n-ɨ́-ɨ̀ mɨ́sh tō jɨ̀n mɨ́-'d-ɨ́*
3SG do.AUX:IPFV-NAS-ERG.2SG LNK know thing REL
ɨ́ múṉ 'césh bà gòlòp̱-àm pém
do.AUX:PFV-3SG-AD2 LOC.CL1 world BA story-ASS
tāní
POSS.1SG

'So that you can know what is happening in the world and my story'

(1459) *mùr-gà* *mí* *ì* *ó* *gò* *mà*
will.AUX:IPFV-ERG.1SG do.AUX LNK say message.PART GEN.CL2
’pénɨ́ *mè’d* *jɨ̀n* *bǒr* *ā* *wàzɨ́* *jɨ̀n* *yùk̲*
from:CL1 when REL carry:IPFV ERG.CL1 person REL call:IPFV
gwày *kɨ́* *à* *Gwǎlí* *cú* *tānɨ́*
name COMP CL2 Gwali horn PHM

‘I’m going to talk about a person named Gwali who was running with the horn’

(1460) *’Kwāzɨ́* *kɨ́* *hàm* *à* *à* *wá’d* *tānɨ́* *ḿmò* *gàm* *shēt̲*
people NARR gather CL2 CL2 hunt PHM GER find antelope

‘To call people for the hunt, to find the antelope.’

(1461) *ɨ́* *bwàmán* *wát̲* *tānɨ́* *hālā́s* *wàzɨ́* *shwákám* *pém* *á*
LOC.CL1 inside hunt PHM finally person uncle POSS.1SG CL2
kámú *yùk̲* *kā* *jànà* *tānɨ́*
someone call:IPFV with:CL2 Jana PHM

‘Within the hunt a man my uncle whose name is Jana.’

(1462) *á’dī* *kɨ́* *yɨ́p̲* *shēt̲* *(kā* *mèk̲)*
3SG NARR throw.spear antelope (with:CL2 spear)

‘He threw (a spear at and killed) the antelope.’

(1463) *’kwāzɨ́* *kɨ́* *sō-ɨ́* *tānɨ́* *ḿmò* *sūl* *shēt̲* *’pénɨ́* *á’dī*
people NARR run.PL-AD2 PHM GER cut antelope from:CL1 3SG
ḿmò *’cɨ́’s* *bwà* *mò* *tānɨ́* *únī* *kɨ́* *k̲āl* *shēt̲* *bà*
GER cut stomach.PART MO PHM 3PL NARR carry antelope BA
mò
MO

‘People came running to (quickly) grab, to cut a piece from it, and they carried the antelope meat home.’

(1464) *dhàlì ɨ́ gwày ’cēmɨ́lɨ̀ únī kɨ́ ’cém gwày sā*
and LOC.CL1 song begin:IPFV textsc3pl NARR sing song dance
Wàhá í nyànyɨ́ nyànyɨ́ kū-m tō-m bwăshō
Waha PREP more and more DEF.GEN.PL-ASS thing-ASS bush
tānɨ́
PHM

‘And while walking they were singing and dancing the waha more and more, the ones of the bush’

(1465) *wàk̲kɨ́ ’kósh ā wàzɨ́ tānɨ́ á’dī kɨ́ yúk̲ gwày, á’dī*
if kill:PFV ERG.CL1 person PHM 3SG NARR call song, 3SG
kɨ́ ’cém gwày
NARR sing song

‘if a man kills a wild animal, he sings’

(1466) *ḿmò sā Wàhá? ḿmò k̲ál ’kóp̲ tō pā wà shūn-í*
GER dance Waha GER carry head thing home and boil-AD2
ɨ́ ’twān dàm tānɨ́ ’kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ mɨ́ sēt̲
LOC.CL1 compound PHM people NARR do.AUX sed.root

‘Dancing the Waha while carying the head home and boil (it) in the compound, and people make magic from the sè’d root to be able to kill a shet.’

(1467) Edward:

másālàn wàk̲kí wàthí ’kósh-ó’d ā shēt̲, ’kúp̲
for.example if person kill:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 antelope, head
tō mí-nù mí ì k̲ál bwày cōm-á?
thing do.AUX:PFV-IMPRS do.AUX LNK carry to his.father-Q

‘For example if a person kills an antelope, is the head carried to the father’s home?’

(1468) Matayis:

’kóp̲ tō mɨ̀r à k̲ál páŋ ā cōm
head thing will.AUX:IPFV LNK carry home ASS.CL2 his.father

‘The head will be carried to the father’s home.’

(1469) *mʉ̀r-á à k̲ál bàŋ à cōm shʉ́n*
will.AUX:IPFV LNK carry home ASS.CL2 his.father boil:IPFV
ɨ́ páŋ ā cōm
LOC.CL1 home ASS.CL2 his.father

'will be carried to the father's home and boiled in the father's home'

(1470) *ɨ́ cōm yùk̲-ù kí gwălí?*
REF his.father call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Gwali

'His father's name is Gwali.'

(1471) *cōm kú gwălí*
his.father DEF.GEN.PL Gwali

'His father's name is Gwali.'

(1472) *'pénɨ́ má'dān tāntāní*
from:CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM

'From there'

(1473) *à wát 'bár-á'd mò tāntāní kā cím-ín*
CL2 hunt complete:PFV-3SG MO PHM with:CL2 day-DEM.ANPH
ā kámú dŏ̄ō tānɨ́
ASS.CL2 other again PHM

'The hunt is over for another day again'

(1474) *'kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ p̲āy wát̲ dŏ̄ō tāní gàm bòzóŋ? ..áā..*
people NARR spread.out hunt again PHM find heartebeast? aa..

'people spread out (and encircle/hunt) again to find a heartebeast.'

(1475) *Bàgò kɨ́ yɨ́p̲ bòzóŋ mò dǒō tānɨ́ bòzóŋ kɨ́*
Bago NARR throw heartebeast MO again PHM heartebeast NARR
gùs ’sānɨ́ tāgà mò jìn yúk̲ù gwày kɨ́ Sáyāŋk̲ú?
run PHM until place REL call:PFV-IMPRS name COMP Sayanku

‘Bago threw a spear at the heartebeast again and it ran away up to a place called Sayanku’

(1476) *...aa.. à zɨ̀p̲ kɨ́ yà hàjàs bòzóŋ mò tānɨ́ ’kwāzɨ́*
aa CL2 lion NARR go snatch heartebeast MO PHM people
kɨ́ k̲ō īs mò zɨ̀l-ɨ́ zɨ̀p̲ mò
NARR fear body.PART MO leave:PFV-AD2 lion MO

‘A lion snatched the heartebeast, people got scared and left the lion.’

(1477) *gòm tō-m bwǎshō yúk̲ kí zɨ̀p̲ tānɨ́ shíshī, yǐsā*
because thing-ASS bush call:PFV COMP lion PHM bad:STV, NEG
’bór-ó’d-à
good:IPFV-3SG-NEG

‘Because the wild animal called a lion is bad, not good.’

(1478) *wàk̲kɨ́ mɨ̀-n-ɨ́ gàm kán tāntānɨ́ hālás*
if do.AUX:IPFV-ERG.2SG find DEM.ADV.PROX PHM finally
ʔúm mùr-ā’d úr ’kósh mò gà ’dɨ́tɨ́ ’dɨ́tɨ́
2PL will.AUX:IPFV-ERG.3SG chase kill MO one by one

‘If you keep on getting it (a lion), it will chase and kill you one by one.’

(1479) *ká’dān tānɨ́ ’kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ k̲ó, k̲ó zɨ̀p̲ mò tānɨ́*
DEM.ADV.MED PHM people NARR fear, fear lion MO PHM
zàl shɨ̄m mò
leave:PFV meat MO

‘Like that the people were afraid, afraid of the lion and left the meat.’

(1480) Edward:

dhàl-ì *shūm* *mò*
leave:PFV-? meat MO

'Left the meat'

(1481) Matayis:

āíyɨ́
yes

'Yes.'

C.16 Bago

by Maṯayis, recorded in 2013 in the Yabus dialect of Uduk, with Edward Shadrach

(1482) *àà, fàà, à Bàgòò dŏō tānī́*
aah, so, CL2 Bago again PHM

'Bago again'

(1483) *à gò lòlòp̱ jɨ̀n ʾkó-n ā p̱ó-ó súʔ*
CL2 story REL exist.PL:PFV-NAS ERG.CL1 top-INDV two

'This is the second story.'

(1484) *ʾkwāzɨ́ kā zàmɨ̀ ɨ́-n ḿmò bòr cú ḿmò yúk̲*
people with:CL2 long.ago go.PL:IPFV-3PL GER take horn GER call
ʾkwāzɨ́ pā à ʾbár mò
people village LNK complete MO

'People a long time ago used to take horns to call people from all the villages'

(1485) *gòmà ḿmò ʾkósh wàʾsh ɨ́ āl ɨ́ ʾKóp̱ā Ālɨ̄*
for.CL2 GER hit:PFV fish LOC.CL1 pool LOC.DUR Kopa Ali

'For fishing in the pool at Kopa Ali'

(1486) *à cōm ā cú tānī́ yúk̲ kí Bàgòò, Bàgòò*
CL2 owner ASS.CL2 horn PHM call:PFV COMP Bago, Bago
Dŏŋk̲āʔ ʾpén bwà ʾKwānyā
Dongka from:CL1 stomach.PART Kwanya

'The owner of the horn was called Bagho, Bagho Doŋka from 'K-wanya.'

(1487) *mè'd jɨ̀n bǒr-á'd cú tānɨ́ á'dī kɨ́ yà tānɨ́*
as REL hold:IPFV-ERG.3SG horn PHM 3SG NARR go.SG PHM

'As he was carrying the horn he was going around'

(1488) *á'dī sɨ̄-t ā shō'k nǎskínā tānɨ́ 'kwāzɨ́ kɨ́*
3SG delay:IPFV-3SG ACC.CL2 foot.PART still PHM people NARR
í mò ṯwāà?
go.PL MO first

'He delayed for a while, and (some other) people went first.'

(1489) *'kwāzɨ́-ŋ káā? kɨ́ ṗét ā bɨ̌'sh mò tānɨ́*
people-ASS some NARR unroll ACC.CL2 longline-hooks MO PHM
cēsh bɨ̌'sh mò wʉ̀dɨ́
catch hook MO water

'Some people (meanwhile) unrolled longlines, to fish in the river.'

(1490) *'pénɨ́ má'dān tānɨ́ á'dī kɨ́ yà-yɨ́ dǒṯ*
from:CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM 3SG NARR go.SG-AD2 ask
gò kɨ́:
message.PART COMP:

'From there he came back and asked'

(1491) *"à jǎ ṯōr-ɨ́ úm gò kɨ́ úm*
CL2 who tell:IPFV-AD2 2PL message.PART COMP 2PL
mɨ́-n ì cēsh bɨ̌zh-ʉ́ wʉ̀dɨ́ kɨ́
do.AUX:PFV-2PL LNK catch hook-LOC.CL1 water COMP
'kwāzɨ́ mʉ̀r-ɨ́ pósh wʉ̀dɨ́
people will:IPFV-AD2 water

'Who told you that you could longline in the river when people are still getting ready to spearfish'

(1492) *ḿmò gǒt wà'sh kā gògòrò?"*
GER hook fish with:CL2 harpoon

'to catch fish with a harpoon?"'

(1493) *á'dī kɬ́ gùs-ɬ́ tānī́ hālā́s á'dī kɬ́ ṯél mí 'pén mò tānī́*
3SG NARR run.SG-AD2 PHM finally 3SG NARR begin MO PHM
'kósh 'kwāzɬ́ kā jàp̱á (ɬ) wʉ̀dɬ́
beat:PFV people with:CL2 stick (LOC.CL1) water

'He ran (to the river) and he started to hit the people with sticks in the water.'

(1494) *'kwāzɬ́-ŋ káā tāntānī́ mò mʉ̀r-ʉ̂n 'tán bĭ'sh*
people-ASS some PHM MO will.AUX:IPFV-ERG.3PL roll hook
kɬ́ 'bór-ɬ́ tānī́
COMP good-ADV PHM

'Some people rolled their hooks back up properly'

(1495) *'kwāzɬ́-ŋ káā kɬ́ 'túndùl bĭ'sh ī̄s mò tānī́*
people-ASS some COMP bunch hook body.PART MO PHM
bòr-gà pí-yʌ̀ mò kā wà'sh ɬ́ ē
hold:PFV-? leave-? MO with:CL2 fish LOC.CL1 eye.PART

'(and) some people hurriedly bunched up their hook, running out (of the water) wth fish in the hooks/bundles'

(1496) *kân tō jɨ̀n kân mɨ̀sh-áā*
DEM.ADV.PROX thing REL DEM.ADV.PROX see:IPFV-ERG.1SG
kā zàmɨ̀-ásān tō jɨ̀n mɨ̀sh-áā
with:CL2 long.time-DEM.PROX thing REL see:IPFV-ERG.1SG
kā zàmɨ̀
with:CL2 long.time

'This is what I saw a long time ago.'

(1497) *yàú 'pénɬ́ má'dān tānī́ 'kwāzɬ́ kɬ́ ó gò*
so from:CL1 DEM.LOC.MED PHM people NARR say message.PART
kɬ́ "áyh! à tá mì-n à wàzɬ́ kán?"
COMP ay CL2 what do:IPFV-NAS ERG.CL1 man DEM.ADV.PROX

'From there people said "Ay! Why is the man doing that?" '

(1498) *gòm wàzɨ́ mɨ̌ nyòr gòm wʉ̀dɨ́ yɨ̌sā ŋàp̲*
because person do:IPFV:AD2 anger because water NEG want:IPFV
ɨ̀ ó kí cēsh bɨ̌'sh kɨ́ kɨ́ 'kwāzɨ́ 'kó
LNK say COMP catch hook COMP COMP people stay.PL:PFV
'kósh wà'sh kɨ́ 'bōr-ɨ́ yɨ̌sā̀
kill fish COMP good-ADV NEG

'(It was) because the man was angry, because the water is not allowed to be fished in, while (other) people are stuck without fishing, not good.'

(1499) *kɨ́ 'kwāzɨ́ ŋàp̲-ɨ́-n ḿmò mɨ́sh gò*
COMP people want.AUX:IPFV-AD2-3PL GER see message.PART
'bān 'kósh wà'sh kā gògòrò (ɨ̄)t̲wā
temple.PART kill fish with:CL2 harpoon first

'When people understand that that they're fishing with a harpoon first.'

(1500) Edward:

gòm tházàn wàk̲kí yì'dé jàn tā k̲ūl tāní,
because of course if water DEM.MED COP:PFV stagnant PHM,
yì'dé mùr-ánā mí ì mí ì
water will.AUX:IPFV-ERG.1PI do.AUX:PFV LNK do.AUX:PFV LNK
kār ā cím dhàlì cōm yì'dé 'kó-n bè
place ACC.CL2 day and owner water exist.PL:PFV-3PL PARTICLE

'Because if the water is stagnant, we organize a day for the water, when the owners of the water are there'

(1501) Matayis:

áywà nyè, cōm wʉ̀dí 'kó-n bè
yes yes, owner water exist.PL:PFV-3PL PARTICLE

'Yes the owners of the water were there.'

(1502) Edward:

yǐsà dhàl wàthí bwày wàthí kí mí ì yà mò
NEG allow person way person COMP do.AUX:PFV LNK go.SG MO
tāní mí-yā ’kósh mò yǐsà, nòn-únī
PHM do.AUX-LNK hit MO NEG forbid:IPFV-ERG.3PL

‘They don’t let the person to go and fish there (first), they forbid (it).’

(1503) Matayis:

’tāsh ā á’dī
forbid:PFV ERG.CL1 3SG

‘He forbids it.’

(1504) Edward:

jǎn gàrà mǐ-’d í bǎm̄ kā’dán
DEM.MED also do:IPFV:AD2-3SG LOC.CL1 POSS.1PE DEM.ADV.MED
gàrà
also

‘That also happens in our village like that.’

(1505) Matayis:

dì wà kán-á?
exist.SG be.like:IPFV DEM.ADV.PROX-Q

‘Is that so?’

(1506) Edward:

nyěē
yes

‘Yes’

(1507) Matayis:

áhā mǐsh-á gò ’bān kɨ́ wʉ̀dí-n
1SG see:IPFV:AD2-1SG message.PART temple.PART COMP water-ASS
’dé? yʉ̀k̲-kù kɨ́ Gùm Yì’dé
one call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Gum Yi’de

‘I understand that there’s one river called Gum Yi’de’

(1508) *yàú wʉ̀dɨ́ jàntān tānɨ́ ɨ́ pā bǎm̄ yʉ̀k̲-ù*
so water DEM.MED PHM LOC.CL1 village POSS.1PE call:IPFV-IMPRS
kí jìs à nàŋà
COMP hole ASS.CL2 crocodile

‘That river in our village is called the Hole of the Crocodile.’

(1509) *wò cōm wʉ̀dɨ́ á’dī yʉ̀k̲-ù kí Bàgòò tān*
so owner water 3SG call:IPFV-IMPRS COMP Bago PHM
tā-’d ā shwákám pém zǎtō (bè)
COP:PFV-3SG ACC.CL2 uncle POSS.1SG even (BE)

‘The owner of the water he is called Bagho and he is even my uncle!’

(1510) *yàú á’dī mǐ tō jàn tāntānɨ́ yǐsā káñ*
so 3SG do:IPFV:AD2 thing DEM.MED PHM NEG some
ŋàp̲-á’d kɨ́ ’kwāzɨ́ p̲ēt ā bǐ’sh tāntānɨ́
want:IPFV-3SG COMP people unroll ACC.CL2 hook PHM

‘He does that thing, he doesn’t want some people to unroll hooks’

(1511) *wà cēsh ɨ́ wʉ̀dí bǎsāyǎ ŋàp̲-á? ’kwāzɨ́ kɨ́ ’kósh*
and trap LOC.CL1 water NEG want:IPFV-3SG people COMP kill
wà’sh kā gògòrò ɨ́ t̲wā tānɨ́
fish with:CL2 harpoon LOC.CL1 first PHM

‘and fish in the water, he doesn’t want people to fish with a harpoon first.’

(1512) *ʼbár mò hālā́s ʼkwāzɨ́-m bɨ̌ʼsh ʼkwāzɨ́ kɨ́ p̱ēt ā*
complete MO finally people-ASS hook people NARR unroll ACC.CL2
bɨ̌ʼsh bɨ̀sɨ́nɨ̄ cēsh bɨ̀sɨ́nɨ̄ hālā́s
hook BESENE capture BESENE finally

‘All of the hook-people, the people unrolled the hooks to capture fish’

(1513) *gòmà p̱í ʼkwāzɨ́-ŋ káā tān kā gògòrò bǎsāyǎ*
because.CL2 lack people-ASS some PHM with:CL2 harpoon NEG

‘Because some people don’t have a harpoon.’

(1514) *kwāzɨ́-ŋ káā dǎr-ɨ́n kā gògòrò*
people-ASS some lack:IPFV-3PL with:CL2 harpoon

‘Some people lack harpoon(s).’

(1515) *tō yámsān*
thing DEM.PROX

‘This (is the) thing’

(1516) *hɨ́stōrɨ̀ yámsān*
story DEM.PROX

‘This is the story’

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